

Table of international exchange rates for various countries including Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, etc.

The Guardian INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

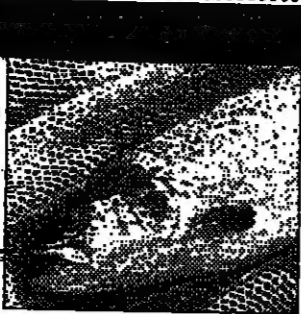
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Guerrilla war on the Tweed

The poacher's tale

G2 with European weather



David Lacey sees the underdogs bite back

Scotland the brave

Euro 96 latest: Sport back page



Education

The end of the amateur academic

G2 pages 10/11

FO shake-up as Labour plans to advertise for ambassadors

Embassies could be headed by recruits from private sector

Ian Black and Richard Norton-Taylor

LABOUR government would advertise vacancies for top ambassadorial posts to attract candidates from the business world to give a sharper and more competitive commercial edge to British diplomacy, the Guardian has learned.

The first time to be headed by men and women recruited from the private sector, under plans being drawn up by the shadow foreign secretary, Robin Cook.

shake up the Foreign Office's culture since the review of Britain's overseas representation by the Central Policy Review Staff — the Cabinet Office think-tank — in 1977.

Labour's front bench, sensitive to criticism from the Whitehall establishment, insists it has no intention of introducing a "spoils" system and undermining Whitehall's tradition of political neutrality.

He added: "Ambassadors have specific expertise in a wide range of activities which might not be available if the jobs were put out to business."

They're OK with first secretaries and probably a counsellor. But after that it's the dignity, it's the plumness."

Of serving ambassadors, a big question mark hangs over the future of Stephen Wall, Britain's ambassador to the EU in Brussels and close confidant of John Major.



Europe gangs up on Major

Ian Traynor in Bonn, John Palmer in Luxembourg and Michael White

GERMANY last night dramatically raised the stakes in the beef war when it unilaterally declared it would continue the ban on beef derivatives which the European Commission had agreed to lift after sustained pressure from the British government.

announcement signalled its resolve to stand firm in the beef war with the British. After meeting the agriculture ministers of Germany's 16 federal states, Horst Seehofer, the health minister, said all ministers had pledged to maintain the imports ban against British beef products.

The highlight of the day was not a lockout — as Sinn Fein had hoped — but the absence of a walkout by any of the Unionist parties, in spite of threats over their unhappiness with the agenda and chairman George Mitchell, President Clinton's close ally.

Irish Nationalism had undertaken a period of reflection and redefinition. He had just come from the funeral of a Garda detective, who police believe was shot dead by the IRA on Friday, a man "mercilessly cut down in the prime of life".

But Sinn Fein didn't see it or play it, like that outside. "We come as peace-builders," declared the Sinn Fein president, Gerry Adams, hoping to snatch the best soundbite prize of the day from the British and Irish premiers.

The challenge is nothing less than to overcome the legacy of history"

Inside Castle Buildings, obduracy and pettiness continued.

Tea and a symphony of warm words amid the usual bloody mindedness

David Sharrock, Ireland Correspondent

THE first day of Northern Ireland's talks lived up to all its expectations: drama, pathos, courageous words, cups of tea, hope, sanctimony, and plain bloody-mindedness.

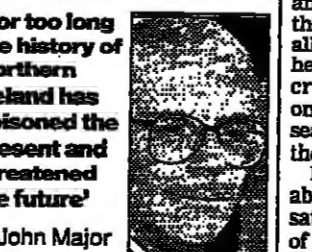
History would not forgive them. Or forget him; the one lasting monument to his leadership — the prize of solving the Irish question — seemed as if it might yet have its unveiling ceremony.

Mr Bruton also lived up to the sense of occasion, delivering a sensitive performance conducted on hostile territory in which he stressed how

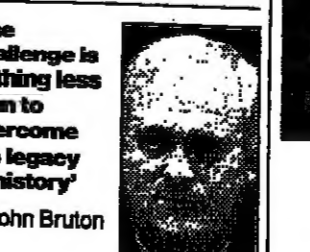
used offstage. Various delegates emerged briefly to spin and slag. But the overall picture was good; bitter enemies were standing within feet of one another and not beating each other up.

Mitchell role thwarts peace talks, page 8; Leader comment, page 8; Hugo Young, page 9

'For too long the history of Northern Ireland has poisoned the present and threatened the future'



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Inside

Britain BT and its US partner MCI stole a march on rivals and unveiled an Internet network set to bring in \$2 billion a year.

World News Labour would keep a British brigade of 7-8,000 men in Bosnia to prevent civil war even if the Americans pulled out.

Finance British Energy directors warned that future payments to investors in the privatisation of the nuclear industry may have to be cut.

Sport England's home rivals may be forced to sign their own deals with BSkyB after Twickenham signed a separate £87.5 million deal.

Comment and Letters 8

Politics, page 8; Fishing row, page 8; Leader comment, page 8; Steve Bell cartoon, page 8

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Crossword 15; Weather 16; Radio 1; TV 18



Advertisement for Abbey National Direct, featuring the text 'WITH RATES FROM 13.5% APR ALL YOUR DREAMS CAN COME TRUE' and 'ABBEYLOAN. THE FAST AFFORDABLE PERSONAL LOAN.'

Sketch

Norris's unnerving Mr Nice Guy show



Simon Hoggart

TRANSPORT questions in the Commons and no sign of Brian Wilson (Lab, Cunninghame N), the Opposition spokesman for railways...

heaven "when a singer repenteth". Which singer did she mean? Madonnas Harry Connick Jr? It would be wonderful if they repented, or better were head-butted by Brian Wilson.

US launch of biggest network 'to make £1bn a year' Firms offered high speeds on dedicated service

BT scores Internet coup

Mark Tran in New York

BT AND ITS US partner MCI yesterday stole a march on its rivals and unveiled the world's biggest Internet network set to bring in \$2 billion (£1,057 million) a year by the end of the century.

distance offerings. By providing dedicated Internet services to business customers, BT and MCI are seeking to nip in the bud the challenge from Internet upstarts that lack the marketing clout and the close commercial ties enjoyed by the phone giants.

customers direct access to the Internet through local computer centres. The two companies plan to spend \$100 million by the end of the year to expand their global partnership and global reach through the Internet.

Use of the Internet, which started as a US government network, is expected to double to roughly 200 million users by the end of the century, with some experts predicting up to 500 million users.

should minimise bottlenecks. Telephone companies generally have upgraded existing networks to carry Internet traffic but BT and MCI are going a step further by building dedicated networks.

rival, AT&T, America's telecommunications giant AT&T is building a host of corporate Internet services based on the Notes software developed by Lotus, later taken over by IBM.



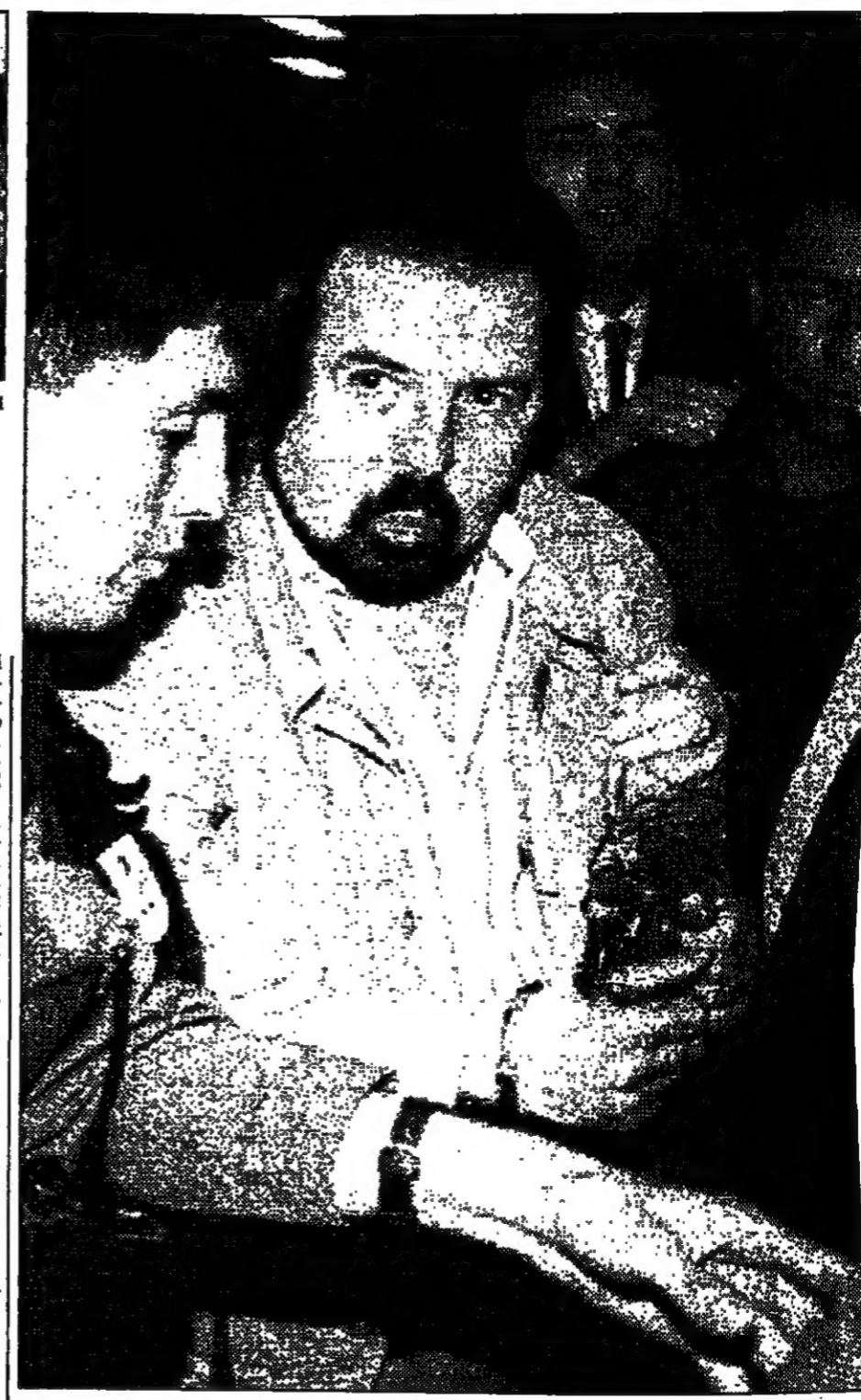
Miguel Rodriguez Orejuela: held in the same jail as his rival for control of the Cali cartel

Colombian capos battle for power

Bloody feuding for control of the world's largest cocaine industry could result in an upsurge in indiscriminate violence



next generation, and it will not be pretty. A law enforcement official said, "Ivan Urdinola and the others want to get rid of the Rodriguezes... and take over the organisations, and the old guard will not go quietly."



Gilberto Rodriguez Orejuela: with his brother, continues to run drug empire from jail

Review

Touch of genius steals the show

Martin Kettle

Gidon Kremer/Philharmonia Royal Festival Hall

WHAT does a reviewer do when he is supposed to describe an important new work, only for Gidon Kremer to come along and give an absolutely astonishing performance of Tchaikovsky's violin concerto that simply demands to take top billing?

Being Kremer, Tchaikovsky was only the start. The concert had begun with Sibelius's Finlandia. Before that, the enterprising Philharmonia had put on a "pre-concert" of Sofia Gubaidulina's cryptic Seven Last Words for strings, cello and accordion.

Douglas Parah in Cali

A BLOODY battle has broken out within the Cali cartel over control of the world's largest cocaine trafficking organisation and its billions of dollars in profits - signalling one of the sharpest re-alignments in Colombia's drug trade, informed sources say.

away from Mexico to the Caribbean and Central America, as the Urdinola faction has far less cordial ties with the Mexican traffickers who currently transport much Colombian cocaine to the US.

The Cali cartel, a loose affiliation of drug trafficking organisations, produces and distributes up to 80 per cent of the world's cocaine. The Rodriguez brothers, who last week pleaded guilty to drug trafficking charges, had been displaced as the largest cocaine traffickers in recent years.

Nation gets £75m gift

Largest collection of gold and silver donated to Britain by US millionaire

Nick Varley

A MAN who emigrated to America almost 50 years ago returned to Britain last night with a special gift: the largest arts donation of its kind.

Court of Justice, should be enjoying the new role by the turn of the century. Many of the items to be exhibited there, including gold boxes and micro-mosaics, were regarded as serious losses to the nation's heritage when they were exported.

a collection of this quality." Mr Gilbert, born in Golders Green, north London, made his millions through property deals. He emigrated 47 years ago.

Germans take hard line as EU gangs up on Major

continued from page 1 agreement will not include either a timetable for the full lifting of the ban or an automatic process by which it will be removed in stages.

Disappointing response to gun amnesty in wake of Dunblane

Alan Travis Home Affairs Editor

JUST under 5,000 weapons have been surrendered in the first week of the national firearms amnesty declared after the Dunblane shooting.

amnesty will fall far short of the 48,000 weapons handed in after the Hungerford mass shootings in 1988.

Rukba advertisement: Helping the elderly stay independent makes Rukba so special. Includes contact information and a coupon form.

Large vertical advertisement on the right edge of the page, partially cut off, featuring text like 'Militants st...' and 'There are still m...'

Our man in . . .



Sir John Kerr: Age: 54 Job: Ambassador to US since August 1995. Education: Glasgow Academy, Oxford University. Family: Married, 2 sons, 3 daughters. Career: Seconded to Treasury, 1961-64, private secretary to chancellors Howe and Lawson. Senior post Washington embassy, then ambassador to EU. Brainy Scot, sharpness in detecting political boobytraps: hailed by Margaret Thatcher as a "golden pen".



Christopher Meyer: Age: 52 Job: Ambassador to Germany Education: Lancing College, Cambridge University. Family: Married, 1 son, 1 stepson. Career: FCO high flyer, formerly chief spokesman; John Major's press secretary, 1994-96. Postings include Moscow, Madrid, Brussels. Former Harvard fellow, writing on media and government, later minister, then deputy head of mission, Washington embassy.



Stephen Wall: Age: 49 Job: Ambassador to EU. Education: Douai School, Cambridge University. Family: Married, 1 son. Career: A Eurosceptic; private secretary to three foreign secretaries before joining John Major where he was drawn into the arms-to-Iraq controversy over deleting a phrase in a letter by Major to Labour MP, Gerald Kaufman. Wall admitted mistake and regretted it: "I accept the criticism of me in the Scott report. But I did not act dishonourably."



The way they were... British diplomats during the age of Empire at court for an audience with the King of Burma in 1876

# Chin-chin . . . where's the gin?

As Labour plans to advertise for diplomats, a stiff upper lip is still crucial for any one hoping to be 'sent abroad to lie for his country'

John Ezard

IF Labour's scheme to advertise for potential ambassadors is introduced, successful applicants will find that one traditional gift for the job is still crucial: the stiffest of upper lips. They will discover it is needed to survive foreign emergencies like the Great Boose Disaster of Ulan Bator, which was recently followed by the Great Boose Disaster of Alma Ata. Both these cataclysms happened to the same ambassador, Noel Jones, in different postings. His stoicism under extreme pressure has become a byword in the service. Alcohol is recognised as vital to assist trade talks and diplomatic entertaining in the low winter temperatures of Outer Mongolia — Britain's remotest posting — and Kazakhstan. An equally delicate, if more sombre, account of ambassadorial restraint in a global

Britain via the trans-Siberian railway. In 1985, however, Mr Jones's supplies got stuck in a St Petersburg railway siding for nine months during the Russian winter. "By the time it arrived, the sparkling wine bottles had burst, the other wine had gone off and they had to drink malt whisky with every course," the London wine shipper who organised the consignment said yesterday. "It is better to draw a veil over the letter we received from the diplomatic service." When Mr Jones was posted to Kazakhstan, the FO prudently switched to a road route. But in 1993 the Jorry to Alma Ata got stuck in a Urals snowdrift. Only the BP service arrived fit for consumption. Yet Mr Jones took a professional, positive line. He said: "There's no reason why — given time — Kazakhstan shouldn't become a viable working country." An equally delicate, if more sombre, account of ambassadorial restraint in a global



Ambassador Sir John Mildenhall exchanges pleasantries with Akbar, Emperor of India, in 1898

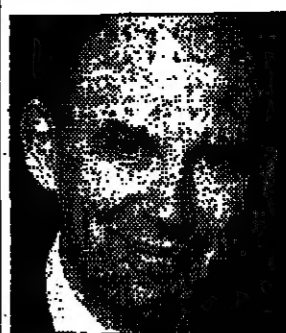
crisis will be given next Monday by Douglas Hurd, the former foreign secretary, in his Letters From A Diplomat series on BBC Radio 4. Mr Hurd discloses how as a young diplomat he had to deal with a telegram of Foreign Office instructions to the British ambassador in Washington, Sir Pierson Dixon, about the Israeli attack on Egypt, which was the forerunner of

the 1966 Suez crisis. Sir Pierson was at the Metropolitan Opera watching Maria Callas in Norma. So was Henry Cabot Lodge, US Ambassador to the United Nations. The two men had already discussed the attack, agreeing that Britain and the US would jointly call a Security Council meeting to condemn Israel. But the telegram Mr Hurd brought forbade this joint

action, without giving a reason. Mr Hurd recalls: "Sir Pierson was an honourable and intelligent man of great experience. He rarely betrayed any emotion in the presence of foreigners. As his private secretary, however, I could tell when he felt such emotion because his neck turned a bright shade of pink. "His embarrassment was strong that night as the harsh

voice of Maria Callas filled the opera house. He struggled to find reasons for a refusal he thought inexplicable. Cabot Lodge retired, baffled and indignant." The US joined the Soviet Union in condemning and undermining the British invasion which followed. Grand gestures still have their place. Sir Christopher Mallaby, ambassador to Paris, walked out of the Channel tunnel into France to present his credentials. In last month's spy crisis Sir Andrew Wood, ambassador to Russia, drove to the Kremlin in a Range Rover instead of a Rolls-Royce to make a point about British hard-headedness. "But the most historic lessons for diplomats of all breeds is to express their country." The father of British diplomacy, King James I's ambassador Sir Henry Wotton, is remembered for his aphorism: "An ambassador is an honest man sent abroad to lie for the good of his country." What only diplomats tend to remember is that the remark backfired on Wotton. His overseas enemies publicised it, then complained to James that he had sent a confessed liar abroad. According to one of Wotton's biographers, this "ruined his chances of preferment".

Our man in . . .



Michael Jay: Age: 49 Job: Ambassador to France. Education: Winchester and Oxford Univ; Crayke, School of African and Oriental Studies at London University. Family: Married. Career: Paris embassy, financial and commercial affairs. FCO director for European Community affairs; key role in Maastricht negotiations. Got Paris job in face of bid by top FCO woman, Pauline Neville-Jones. Management-minded. Cerebral.



Veronica Sutherland: Age: 57 Job: Ambassador to Ireland since March 1996. Education: Royal School, Bath; London and Southampton universities. Family: Married. Career: In FCO's top three women. Served in Copenhagen; specialised in development issues in New Delhi and as delegate to Unesco. Ambassador to the Ivory Coast, and non-resident envoy to Niger and Burkina Faso.



Sir Andrew Wood: Age: 56 Job: Ambassador to Russia since July 1995. Education: Ardingley College, Cambridge University. Family: Married; 2 sons, 1 daughter. Career: Postings include Moscow (twice), Washington (twice), Belgrade, ambassador to Yugoslavia, and Chief Clerk, in charge of all FCO administration and management during battles against Treasury cuts. Underestimated and cool under fire as shown in recent tit-for-tat spy expulsion spat.

## Militants strike against Israelis

Killings challenge Netanyahu's promise of 'peace with security'

Derak Brown in Jerusalem and David Hirst in Beirut

PALESTINIAN and Lebanese militants have sent a grim challenge to the Israeli prime minister-elect, Benjamin Netanyahu, with two attacks which cost at least eight lives. Hizbullah yesterday promised to turn occupied south Lebanon into a "volcano" and "drive out the Israelis and their Lebanese auxiliaries". The boat came after a daring raid in which five Israeli soldiers were killed in a hail of machine gun and rocket fire. Six other soldiers were wounded, and a Lebanese soldier was killed when Israeli artillery retaliated. Inside Israel, two Jewish settlers from the occupied West Bank died when at least one gunman sprayed their car with automatic fire. The victims were a young couple from the most radical of settlements, Kiryat Arba, outside Hebron. Their nine-month-old son was found by police, unharmed and still strapped in the back seat of the car.

Dabseh, and fired anti-tank missiles at two armoured personnel carriers. It was almost a repeat performance of a raid last year, in which they briefly laid siege to the Dabseh outpost. Their video film of the operation shocked the Israeli public. Israeli troops replied with a heavy artillery bombardment of the Nabatiyah area, killing a Lebanese soldier and wounding a civilian. Hizbullah called this a violation of the "understanding" that ended Grapes of Wrath.

Israel and the US have admitted that recent Hizbullah attacks have kept 'within the rules'

This prohibits Israel from shelling civilians and Hizbullah from launching attacks from populated areas. Nothing in the understandings forbids Hizbullah from raids into the "security zone". Israel and the United States have more or less admitted that since Grapes of Wrath Hizbullah attacks have kept "within the rules".

The perennial savagery of Lebanon will test Mr Netanyahu sorely after he takes office. But the new leader may well be even more concerned about the less sophisticated but more cold-blooded attack inside Israel. It took place late on Sunday night, near the central Israeli town of Bet Shmesh, as the couple drove towards their home in Kiryat Arba. Efrat and Yaron Unger, both in their twenties, died when a burst of automatic fire from another vehicle raked their car. The shooting outraged West Bank settlers, especially in the hardline township of Kiryat Arba. Uri Dasberg, the father of Efrat Unger, said: "I think a suitable answer to such a terrible event can be holding... the land more strongly with our fingers, with nails deep, deep in the earth." The 140,000 or so Jewish settlers in the occupied lands voted overwhelmingly for Mr Netanyahu, who has promised to support their cause and confine Palestinian self-rule to tiny separate enclaves. Now the settlers will seek some tangible evidence of his boast that he can deliver both peace and security.

**'There are still mornings when it's difficult to get up,' she says, apologising for her cigarette, and she has often thought about taking her own life or just becoming a recluse, far away from memories and questions.**

G2 page 3

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سكنا من الاصل

Man continues to defy deportation order

# Chapel refuge for Chinese in hiding

Geoffrey Gibbs

**A**HONG Kong man who fled from his home in Cornwall to avoid being deported, has taken sanctuary in a Methodist church after two weeks on the run.

Hing Fat "Albert" Tong left the house he shared with his Cornish-born wife, Becky, and their three-year-old daughter, Monica, the night before he was due to be put on a flight from Heathrow. Supporters say he has been living rough.

Mr Tong, who has lived in Britain for 17 years, was granted refuge at the Methodist chapel in Marazion, near Penzance, on Sunday night, only hours after Home Office officials had entered his small

terraced house in Camborne to search for clues to his whereabouts.

He said yesterday he had no regrets about going on the run. "If I go back to Hong Kong I think that I'll never come back to see my family because next year Hong Kong will be taken over by China and everything will change. The only way was just to go into hiding."

Mr Tong, aged 48, came to Britain to visit his younger brother in Manchester on a one month visitor's visa in 1979, but later went to Cornwall where he met his future wife's family. The couple, who began living together in 1982, married in 1982.

Their hopes of remaining together in this country suffered a blow last month when the Court of Appeal ruled that

a Home Office deportation order was not open to judicial review. Lawyers are planning to challenge the deportation in the European Court of Human Rights, and the Tong's supporters argue that he should be allowed to remain in this country pending a hearing.

"It is quite appalling that this family should be hounded in this way," the Reverend David Haslam, secretary of the Churches Commission for Racial Justice, said yesterday.

"The Home Office just does not know when to give up. The churches have put forward a position of amnesty for families with children born and brought up here and for reasons of basic humanity the Government should listen."

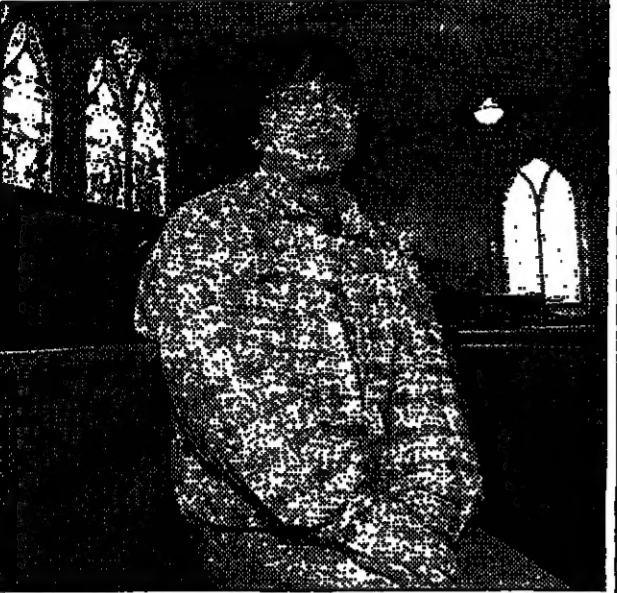
Mr Haslam said the legal right of sanctuary was removed in the early 17th century, and the authorities had the right to enter a place of worship to remove somebody. But he added: "We are quite clear that sanctuary is a powerful moral statement."

Ken Taylor, a member of the Friends of Albert Tong support group, said the chief constable of Devon and Cornwall had been informed of the situation and it was up to the police to decide what action to take.

He said Mr Tong had been provided with a bed at the church and that food was being brought in to him. A member of the support group would remain with him.

Devon and Cornwall police declined to comment, but the Home Office signalled a continued tough line.

"The concept of sanctuary no longer exists in law. Mr Tong is still the subject of a deportation order," said a spokeswoman.



Albert Tong in Marazion Methodist chapel, Cornwall, where he has taken refuge. PHOTOGRAPH: SAM MORGAN

ing to have graduated from university after a court ruled he had no grounds to do so. He studied economics at Gdansk university but dropped out in his fifth year without gaining a degree.

He claimed in his defence that both incidents resulted from "nonchalance" rather than ill will.

Later Lord Nolan goes to Budapest where the government of the prime minister, Gyula Horn, has pledged to work to end corruption, abuses and unlawful property acquisition.

Lord Nolan, whose exacting reputation goes before him, has postponed a similar trip to Slovakia amid mounting concern in the West about the democratic credentials of the rightwing nationalist government of Vladimir Meciar. Its members are said by indiscreet diplomats to behave even worse than most British MPs.

## Nolan on sleaze mission

Ian Black Diplomatic Editor

**L**ORD Nolan, the judge who investigated standards in public life in Britain, is being unleashed on the new democracies of eastern Europe to help them sort out their sleaze.

The propriety of the powerful will be the top of the agenda in visits next week to Poland and Hungary, both struggling with the transformation from communist to free-market economies where there are plenty of opportunities for making a few *zlotys* or *forints* on the side.

Lord Nolan, financed by the Foreign Office, will have his work cut out in both countries when he meets MPs, officials and legal experts to discuss standards and conflicts of interest.

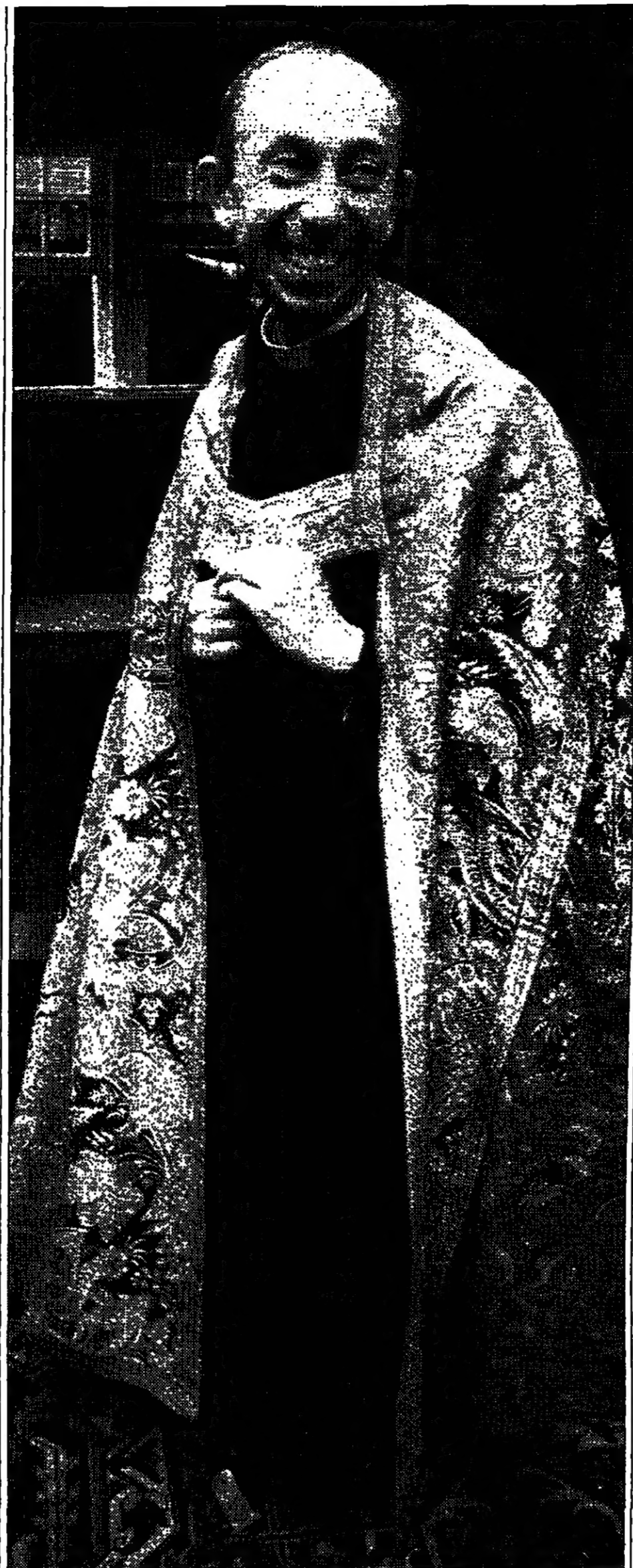
In Poland, the president, Aleksander Kwasniewski, has

been cleared of a complaint about the income statement he submitted to the parliament in which he failed to list his wife's shares in an insurance company.

Mr Kwasniewski, a former communist, had earlier been forced to apologise for claim-



Lord Nolan: he will have his work cut out overseas



Church history... Father Graeme Rowlands of Kentish Town, north London, tries on a 17th century French cope before the Bernheimer collection auction. PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN APOLES

## English embroidery takes pride of place in auction of vestment cast-offs of wealthy and pious

Madeline Bunting Religious Affairs Editor

**F**OUR hundred years of fashion and textile history are up for sale today when the largest private collection of richly embroidered church vestments from all over Europe is auctioned.

Wealthy and pious ladies would during the Middle Ages donate their most magnificent cast-offs to the Catholic Church, providing beautiful brocades, velvets and silks for the priest's finery, some of which is expected to raise up to £16,000.

English embroidery was the most sought-after for its fine workmanship. An English 16th century cope depicting the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalen at the Crucifixion is priced at £18,000, while a cope decorated with pomegranates and double-headed eagles has a guide price of up to £10,000.

The collection being sold by Christie's in London was assembled privately in Munich by the Jewish Bernheimer family, whose fortune was built on providing fabric for palaces built by the eccentric Bavarian monarch, Ludwig II, in the 19th century.

The family became legendary for its huge collection of carpets, tapestries and vestments.

As well as private textile collectors, museums from all over the world including Britain have expressed keen interest in the unusual sale. Vestments of this quantity and quality have not been up for auction since 1936.

Tricia Frost, of Christie's textiles department, said: "If you are a textile collector, the only place you will find medieval embroidery and textiles are in vestments. Domestic clothing just didn't survive but vestments were stored in the dark in sacristies in flat drawers and are well preserved."

Many vestments were embroidered with gold, or the material was woven with gold thread, and are literally "cloth of gold."

agree with North Wales local authority leaders on how to publish the findings of an inquiry into alleged abuse in children's homes in Clwyd. The inquiry is believed to have found abuse was widespread but it is said to be unpublishable because of legal problems.

Concern has switched to Cheshire, where six care workers have been jailed for offences against children in care. More than 300 children may have been abused, according to allegations.

## Child sex ring faces inquiry

David Brindle

**M**INISTERS will today discuss whether to order an inquiry into organised sexual abuse in children's homes. The move comes after allegations of widespread abuse in North Wales, Cheshire and Merseyside.

The issue has been referred to the Cabinet's home and social affairs committee, chaired by Tony Newton, after William Hague, Welsh Secretary, last week failed to

# Labour moves away from job rights promise

Seumas Milne Labour Editor

**L**ABOUR yesterday appeared to signal a move away from the commitment to give employment rights to all workers from the first day in a job.

At the GMB union conference in Blackpool, John Prescott, Labour's deputy leader, said the details and practicalities of the policy were under review and made no commitment to "protection against unfair dismissal from day one".

A spokesman for Tony Blair said that a review of labour market policies being prepared by Stephen Byers, the shadow employment and training minister, would be "presented in due course".

Mr Prescott's remarks came after a strikingly union-friendly speech in which he emphasised Labour's commitment to employment rights, stressed the importance of the party's union links and delivered a passionate defence of comprehensive education and an attack on selection. "I hated a society which said 'I was a failure at 11,'" he said.

But the "employment rights from day one" policy has particular significance for the GMB, which wants to underpin its close working relationship with business.

Smith as an olive branch during the one member, one vote battle in 1993.

Workers are currently entitled to employment protection only after two years in the job.

John Edmonds, GMB general secretary, said that the case for unfair dismissal protection from the first day was overwhelming. No discussion had taken place with Labour about any retreat from Mr Smith's commitment.

The determination of the unions not to be excluded from Labour's dialogue with business over these issues will be emphasised today when the GMB plays host to nearly 100 company directors anxious to discuss Labour employment policies.

Industrialists employing more than 2 million people and representing some of Britain's best known companies — such as British Aerospace, ICI, Vickers, Rover and Pilkington — will come to Blackpool tonight to meet Mr Byers and Ian McCartney, another Labour employment spokesman.

The meeting, which will focus on the minimum wage, social chapter, and other Labour employment policies, is something of a coup for the GMB, which wants to underline its close working relationship with business.

## Head accused of racial bias

**T**HE headteacher who beat off charges of anti-heterosexual bias for turning down cut price ballet tickets to Romeo and Juliet for her pupils was yesterday accused by a teacher of racial discrimination.

Matthew Otobo, aged 51, from Nigeria, made the allegation against Jane Brown and the governors of Kingsmead Primary School in Hackney, east London, at an industrial tribunal.

Mr Otobo was suspended after allegations that he had struck pupils and could not control his class of five-year-olds.

The charges of gross misconduct were not proved in June 1993, but it took the governors a further month to reinstate him, despite legal advice to do so immediately, the tribunal heard.

The current chairman of governors, Pat Griffin, told the hearing at Stratford, east London, that after the case collapsed Ms Brown expressed new fears about Mr Otobo's ability to control classes, saying two children had been taken to hospital and others had left classes and wandered around the building.

Mrs Griffin said the new details were supplied by Ms

Brown, and that was enough to merit an investigation.

Mr Otobo's lawyer, Gerry German, asked why his client was not immediately reinstated as the local education authority personnel department had suggested.

Mrs Griffin said: "I was advised to go through the notes very carefully. It was a totally different issue." She said a new investigation was started and it took time to reconvene the board before agreeing to reinstate Mr Otobo.

He was reinstated in July 1993 after being suspended for seven months. He finally returned to work after illness in September 1994.

Mrs Griffin denied there had been any racism in the way the case was dealt with. She said the disciplinary committee had apologised to Mr Otobo.

Ms Brown had an offer to become a schools inspector but the Office for Standards in Education has withdrawn the offer until the tribunal case is settled. She will continue as head of Kingsmead, if the appointment is confirmed, and report on teaching and other standards at primary schools.

The tribunal is expected to end this week with a decision to be notified later.

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## English embroidery takes pride of place in auction of vestment cast-offs of wealthy and pious

**Madeline Bunting Religious Affairs Editor**

**FOUR** hundred years of fashion and textile history are up for sale today when the largest private collection of richly embroidered church vestments from all over Europe is auctioned.

Wealthy and pious ladies would during the Middle Ages donate their most magnificent cast-offs to the Catholic Church, providing beautiful brocades, velvets and silks for the priest's finery, some of which is expected to raise up to £16,000.

English embroidery was the most sought-after for its fine workmanship. An English 16th century cope depicting the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalen at the Crucifixion is priced at £18,000, while a cope decorated with pomegranates and double-headed eagles has a guide price of up to £10,000.

The collection being sold by Christie's in London was assembled privately in Munich by the Jewish Bernheimer family, whose fortune was built on providing fabric for palaces built by the eccentric Bavarian monarch, Ludwig II, in the 19th century.

The family became legendary for its huge collection of carpets, tapestries and vestments.

As well as private textile collectors, museums from all over the world including Britain have expressed keen interest in the unusual sale. Vestments of this quantity and quality have not been up for auction since 1936.

Tricia Frost, of Christie's textiles department, said: "If you are a textile collector, the only place you will find medieval embroidery and textiles are in vestments. Domestic clothing just didn't survive but vestments were stored in the dark in sacristies in flat drawers and are well preserved."

Many vestments were embroidered with gold, or the material was woven with gold thread, and are literally "cloth of gold."

## Irish to

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John Major 150

'The road to get this far has been long and difficult. I have no illusions about the future; that too, may be difficult. But together we have overcome so many obstacles in the past, and I believe we can do so again in the future' - John Major

'Ultimately the best service we can render to the victims of the conflict is to tackle the causes in such a way that the nightmare of violence will never return' - John Bruton

'Today we have heard strong views put by all the different sides, as we would expect, and we will consult with the parties individually and bilaterally to see how best we move this process forward' - Michael Ancram



On the outside... Sinn Fein's Gerry Adams (right), Martin McGuinness and Gerry Kelly demonstrate at Stormont gates at their exclusion from the talks PHOTOGRAPH BY STEPHEN DAVIDSON

'We are here to take our part with others in the collective task of building a peace settlement. We are here as peacebuilders' - Gerry Adams

'There may be some arguments. There will be arguments about procedures and agenda but we will sort those out. We will approach this process in a positive manner' - David Trimble

'We have succeeded in preventing the two governments from proceeding to hijack these talks, strangle these talks and destroy these talks and get the republican agenda into motion. That will not happen and it cannot happen' - Ian Paisley

# Irish talks stumble over Mitchell role

### Unionists reject Clinton's envoy as Sinn Fein demonstrates and Major, Bruton issue joint warning

David Sharrock  
Ireland Correspondent

THE Northern Ireland all-party talks were close to deadlock late last night as Unionists fought to block the appointment of President Clinton's special

Irish envoy, George Mitchell, as overall chairman. There were chaotic scenes at the Castle Buildings venue at Stormont in east Belfast as the talks got under way, 21 months after the IRA called a ceasefire and four months since it was ended with the bombing of Canary Wharf, east London.

As Sinn Fein demonstrated outside the gates at their exclusion from the talks, the British and Irish prime ministers, John Major and John Bruton, affirmed that only an unequivocal ceasefire announcement by the IRA would get them inside. The two premiers also made a joint appeal for progress beyond the day-long procedural wrangling by Unionists which was still keeping Mr Mitchell from taking his place inside the talks chamber by early evening. Mr Major held a private

meeting with Unionists before the talks opened in a bid to get them to accept Mr Mitchell as chairman. Unionists are objecting to him because they believe he will lean towards an Irish-American nationalist agenda. However, when the hard-line Democratic Unionist leader, Ian Paisley, and the UK Unionist leader, Bob McCartney, emerged to brief the press at 6pm there was little sign of a breakthrough. Mr Paisley said that Unionists had "succeeded in preventing the two governments

from proceeding to hijack these talks, to strangle these talks and to destroy these talks and get a republican agenda into motion." Mr McCartney said that for once Unionists had demonstrated a considerable degree of cohesion. "We have seen democracy at work." The Ulster Unionist leader, David Trimble, was more circumspect, only saying that he was reserving judgment on Mr Mitchell's role. An hour earlier, Mr Major, looking relaxed and happy with the day's developments, said: "I think at the end of the day George Mitchell will prove to be acceptable."

The Prime Minister said another opportunity for a peace settlement might not come as easily. "The eyes of people, not just in Northern Ireland but in the Republic and elsewhere in the United Kingdom and right around the world are on these negotiations. There is a great deal of hope residing in the belief that these negotiations offer the best opportunity for a peaceful settlement in North-

ern Ireland which we have seen for many decades. "We cannot afford to fail because the opportunities now being opened, having reached this far in discussions, may not easily re-emerge were this opportunity not to be taken." He said that people were sick and tired of the wrangling. "They want their politicians and the governments to come together and actually see if they can find a solution. I think there is a powerful imperative, an obligation on the governments and all the parties to do everything they can to reach a settlement." If the parties failed they would not have to answer to the British and Irish governments. "They would have to answer to the people of Northern Ireland." Mr Bruton made history by speaking to elected Unionist politicians at negotiations held in Northern Ireland without protest. He stressed the changing face of Irish nationalism and the need to accommodate differing identities and allegiances. He took the opportunity to

put the two governments' proposal for a settlement at centre stage - even though Unionists have rejected it. "Both governments have accepted that we share a responsibility to lead the process of overcoming the divisions of the past and the search for a new accommodation." "In exercise of our leadership role, the two governments have described a shared understanding of the parameters of a possible outcome to the negotiations in the framework document, a New Framework for agreement. Both governments have acknowledged our responsibility. It is essential that we discharge it fully." The talks offered the first chance for over 70 years for all involved, "including those who have traditionally relied on physical force, to get round the same table to map out a future of peace, of justice, of hope." "The campaigning demand of the republican movement has been denied the right to be part of a collective process to build peace."

government that Sinn Fein are not at this table today. The responsibility for ensuring that Sinn Fein can now take part rests clearly on the IRA, who have the capacity to restore unequivocally the cessation of violence of August 1994. "There will be no change in the position of the two governments. That position is rooted in democracy," he told the delegates. Earlier he attended the funeral of Garda detective Gerry McCabe, who was shot dead on Friday by paramilitaries, believed by Irish police to be IRA members. Outside the gates of the talks, the Sinn Fein president, Gerry Adams, said he led his delegation "not to protest but to participate." But after a Northern Ireland Office official read out a joint government statement explaining that they would not be allowed in until the ceasefire was restored, Mr Adams said: "We feel cheated that we have been denied the right to be part of a collective process to build peace."

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## Rail cuts may hit commuters

Keith Harper  
Transport Editor

SECURITY guards on the railways could be employed in place of ticket inspectors to put people off trains by a newly privatised company anxious to cut costs on the heavily used London, Tilbury and Southend commuter route. Two security firms are to be invited by Prism Rail, a private consortium of bus companies, to tender for the contract. Prism has just been awarded a seven-year contract to operate passenger services on the 40-mile route. About 75 per cent of the line's income derives from season ticket holders, but with 200 arrests a month there is a disruptive element on the line which the company wants to eliminate. Part of its policy is to introduce automatic ticket gates at stations. The security guard move was attacked yesterday by Jimmy Knapp, leader of the Rail, Maritime and Transport Union (RMT), who described it as a "classic case of being penny wise and pound foolish". He said the company was just looking for a short-term gain by cutting employment costs, but ultimately it would create a problem for passengers and a substantial fall in the amount of revenue collected. Prism is offering staff three options. They can take redundancy, join the security company which gets the contract, or take alternative jobs, but RMT said there were no other jobs. If they transferred to a security firm they might receive inferior pay and conditions. Passenger receipts on the line amount to £51 million a year. LTS employs 40 revenue protection inspectors who gather more than £1 million from passengers who have not paid before boarding. Peter King, RMT's London divisional organiser, said: "Security companies have no knowledge of railway procedures, and passengers who have been unable to purchase a ticket will be thrown off trains. Customer care will go out of the window if this scheme is allowed." The plan is due to be considered by the Prism board this month.

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# Crunch day for rivals in Bangladesh

Arshad Mahmud in Dhaka

**B**ANGLADESH goes to the polls tomorrow for the second time in four months for what could be the ultimate showdown between two women who have convulsed the country for two years.

If Begum Khaleda Zia, the former prime minister, or her rival, Sheikh Hasina Wajed, refuse to accept the people's verdict, then Bangladesh has little hope of closing the chapter on an era of conflict.

Polling will be watched by 40,000 soldiers and an army of election observers. Police have set up checkpoints in Dhaka to look for guns and bombs.

The election commissioner, Abu Hena, believes the day will pass off fairly peacefully, although some 15 people have been killed in campaign violence. "I am very confident that we will be able to hold a credible election this time," he said.

That was not the case in February when Mrs Zia pressed ahead with a general election despite a boycott by Sheikh Hasina's Awami League and the other main opposition parties, who argued that free and fair elections were only possible under a caretaker government. The vote was widely seen as a sham.

Sheikh Hasina resumed her strike campaign soon after the February vote. Fearing more violence, Mrs Zia gave way. She stepped aside for an administration headed by a former judge, and elections were called.

But the opposition is still wary. "Beware of the things who stole votes in the last elections," Sheikh Hasina

told a recent campaign meeting.

In retaliation, Mrs Zia threatened a boycott after accusing her rivals of trying to rig the polls. "Vote for the Bangladesh Nationalist Party to save the country from a disaster," she told her final campaign rally last night.

Although the Awami League is narrowly ahead in a poll conducted by the Power and Participation Centre, which gave it 31 per cent of the vote against 29 per cent for the BNP, most observers expect a hung parliament.

The Jatiya party of the jailed former military ruler, General Hossain Mohammed Ershad, could then hold the balance of power along with the religious Jamaat-e-Islami.

Beneath the political rivalry, and the heavy toll it has taken of hopes of modest economic progress in Bangladesh, lies the fear that the military may grow impatient with the civilian politicians.

Bangladesh returned to civilian rule only after the election of 1991 — which most observers regarded as fair — having been ruled by generals for much of the 25 years since independence.

Like last month, the prospect of a showdown with the military loomed after President Abdur Rahman Biswas, a BNP member, sacked the army chief, accusing him of politicising the force. The fear of a return to military rule has now subsided, but it remains uncertain whether Bangladesh can put its turbulent past behind these polls.

"I'm not doubtful about whether the election would be free and fair," said Bjorn Strarby, the Swedish ambassador. "I'm more concerned about what happens after that."

# Mongolia counts cost of blazes

Firefighters were ill-prepared for fires which devastated the north, reports Patrick Tyler in Honin Nuga

**I**T WAS the job of a leathery wildlife ranger named Myagmarsuren to protect the conifer forests draped across the low mountains.

And so on May 14, when he saw the first puffs of white smoke over the ridge from his cabin, he jumped on his pony and rode all afternoon to the nearest telegraph operator to raise the alarm.

By the time he got back, the valley was an inferno.

"For 17 straight days and nights, I fought the fire with only two or three hours of sleep each day," he said outside his cabin, which stands in a valley around 140 miles north of the Mongolian capital, Ulan Bator. Above and behind him are charred forests.

"People came on horseback to help fight the fire," said Myagmarsuren, who like many Mongols uses only one name. "Even prisoners came from the prison to help, and some people had no better tools than bows cut from the trees to beat the flames."

After a winter of precious little snow, raging firestorms began in March and continued throughout the spring across northern Mongolia. The fires are the worst civil defence officials can remember.

So far 26 people have died and nearly 600 nomads have been injured or rendered shelterless by the blazes. About 7,000 head of livestock have been killed and telephone links to dozens of settlements were destroyed as fires scorched more than 23 million acres, an area greater than Scotland.

In one eastern settlement, 16 people perished at once when a wall of flame incinerated their collection of yurts, the traditional dwelling tents of the steppe.

Now, the worst appears to be over. Civil defence authorities said last week that after three-and-a-half months

nearly all the fires are under control. Those that remain are burning across an 80-mile front in the Lake Hovsgol region near Russia.

Officials said that up to one-fifth of Mongolia's coniferous forest had been ravaged by the fires. Grassland will regenerate this year, but only after weeks of rainfall. Until then herds are in danger, experts say. The forests will take much longer.

In many respects, the damage seems incalculable. Rural supplies of fuel, food and money have been drastically depleted and the summer planting season seriously disrupted.

In a Western country, a similar disaster would prompt a nationwide mobilisation. But in Mongolia, still mired in the torpor of post-communist economic recovery, the total firefighting arsenal consists of 16 truck-mounted water pumps, 133 backpack water pumps, 10

chain saws, 34 shovels, 24 rakes and 23 axes.

Poor communications have hampered firefighters, and the logistics of equipping and feeding the teams have constantly broken down. A third of firefighters did not even report for duty because of low pay and poor morale.

A lack of readiness was certainly the problem in Honin Nuga, where the surrounding mountains are still smouldering, evidence of the inferno which is gradually succumbing to summer rains that began last week.

Myagmarsuren hopes eventually to have a two-way radio in his candlelit cabin so he can call for help more quickly.

"My job is to fight calamities, and this was the first one of my career," he said. "My dream would be that I would not have to ride a horse so far just to communicate. We need something better." — New York Times.

**'For 17 days and nights I fought the fire with only two or three hours of sleep each day'**



Hisbullah strikes... An injured Israeli soldier is flown out of occupied south Lebanon. Five Israelis were killed and six wounded in a guerrilla ambush. PHOTOGRAPH: YARON HANAN/SIPA

# Concern grows about human rights in Tunisia

Leslie Ploemmer

**A**GROWING body of evidence that independent assessment is being suppressed in Tunisia is threatening to blacken the image of the Mediterranean tourist destination, whose government claims to be above the abuses that characterise much of the Arab world.

While Tunisia has angrily rejected a recent European Parliament declaration of concern over civil rights restrictions in the country, a series of examples spanning the past six months lends support to concerns over harassment of government critics and their families and the absence of press freedom.

On May 23, the day MEPs passed their resolution, the president of the International Federation of Human Rights, Patrick Baudouin, was bundled on to the next plane back to Paris after arriving in Tunisia. Labelled an "undesirable" and accused of "provocative behaviour" by state-controlled media, Mr Baudouin had hoped to discuss the human rights situation with Tunisia's political leaders.

A fortnight earlier, the executive director of the Tunisian-based Arab Institute of Human Rights, Frei Fernich, was arrested at the airport while trying to board a flight to France to attend a meeting. Accused of carrying "compromising documents" on human rights in Tunisia, he

was held for four days before being freed on May 14.

Another group, the long-established Tunisian League for Human Rights, has suffered persistent hounding by the authorities, who have tried to pack it with government sympathisers despite its status as a private body.

On May 21, the league won a court case through which the interior ministry was trying to compel it to accept members it did not want. But according to the authoritative London-based Arabic newspaper al-Hayat, people associated with the league continue to be intimidated.

Three former league officials — Al-Munif al-Marsofi, Mustapha ben Jaafar and Sharn ben Sadrem — are

all banned from travelling outside Tunisia, al-Hayat reports.

The newspaper also says that one of its contributors — Saleh Bechir, a Tunisian writer and journalist living in France whose "views are the only form his radicalism takes" — has had his French passport seized by the Tunisian embassy in Paris. It adds that none of the people mentioned in its report are Islamists.

He turned it in at the embassy as part of renewal formalities on April 2. Later he was told his application had been refused. The passport has not been returned, al-Hayat says — adding that none of the people mentioned in its report are Islamists.

In another case, the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) and Amnesty International lodged protests over the jailing for 11 years of the head of Tunisia's main legal opposition party on charges of being a Libyan agent.

Both organisations say the charges and evidence against Mohammed Mousa were fabricated. A literature professor who is president of the Movement of Democratic Socialists, Mr Mousa is the government's most vociferous critic. He admits sympathies for Libya, but insists his innocence and patriotism.

The authorities claimed they had seized a briefcase containing documents connecting him with Libya and "millions of dollars". If true,

Mr Mousa would probably qualify for the Guinness Book of Records: radical Arab groups can testify that Tripoli's rhetoric and promises rarely translate into thousands of dollars, let alone millions.

Mr Mousa's crime appears to have been to publish an open letter to President Zine el Abidine Ben Ali criticising restrictions on Tunisia's six opposition parties.

The ICJ has also condemned a "revival campaign of persecution" — including detention — being waged against Khemais al-Shammari, an MP of Mr Mousa's party. Mr Shammari's wife, Aya, a defence lawyer in the Mousa case, is also suffering harassment, the ICJ claims.

# Land rush crushes peasants who survived so much

Mozambique's government is granting huge concessions to the Frelimo party elite, writes Andrew Meldrum in Maputo

**P**ULLING weeds from their scrubby patch of manioc, Julietta Cossa sighed and pointed down the hillside to a fertile green swath of land.

"That was our land, the land of our ancestors," she said. "We grew several different crops there. We had plenty to eat and some produce to sell. Now that land is fenced off and we can't even visit our family cemetery. We are stuck here, on this rocky hillside."

Ms Cossa, aged 33, recounted the plight of her rural community of Umpele — nearly 100 families that once farmed the rich valley in the Bome district of southern Mozambique. After surviving Portuguese colonial rule and a 15-year civil war, the community planned to expand its farming and as a co-operative

had bought pipes to pump river water for irrigation.

"Then a man came with lots of papers who told us we no longer had the right to the land," she said. He told us to get off the land," said Ms Cossa. "A tractor came and tore up all our crops. We were chased away. The government administrator told us we no longer had rights to the land."

The community was assigned another plot but then was forced off by a "white South African" who said he had bought the land. Now they have settled on the stony hillside. "We have scattered plots on marginal land and our work as co-operative is paralysed," said Ms Cossa.

The plight of the Umpele community is being mirrored throughout Mozambique as the three-year-old peace fuels a land-rush by foreign and local investors. Far from defending the rights of the rural commu-

nities, the Frelimo government has granted huge concessions of land to party leaders and well-connected businessmen, according to many land experts.

The land-grab is the final tarnishing of Frelimo's once glowing reputation for acting in the interests of the people. It appears the once-Marxist party has abandoned all pretences of working to improve the lot of its impoverished majority.

"The government said it would protect the poor," said Ms Cossa. "Instead, it is giving land to people who have pumps, who have trucks and tractors. Those are rich people and they should develop other areas that are not already settled."

Mozambique, ranked by the World Bank as the world's poorest country, boasts 20 million hectares of arable land, only 10 per

cent of which is currently being cultivated. About 90 per cent of those cultivating the land are from the 2.5 million peasant families who make up 80 per cent of Mozambique's 17 million people.

Emerging from 15 years of a war in the rural areas, the peasants have tripled their maize production to 934,000 tonnes, enough to meet the country's needs.

This is an important achievement for a country that has been dependent upon food aid for a decade. In addition, Mozambique's small farmers are credited with producing 60 per cent of the country's export crops of cashews, cotton and coconut (copra).

All land is owned by the state. Rural communities have rights of occupancy granted by *regulos*, traditional authorities. But the state can grant concessions for the use of land, which the Frelimo government is doing to attract investment.

All land is owned by the state. Rural communities have rights of occupancy granted by *regulos*, traditional authorities. But the state can grant concessions for the use of land, which the Frelimo government is doing to attract investment.

rights, and to increase transparency in the allocation of land. That law will go before parliament and we will see if Frelimo will pass it or change it."

By its strongly anti-peasant stance at the conference, it appears certain Frelimo will weaken protection for the rural communities. Joan Ferreira, a Frelimo member of parliament and a former agriculture minister, told the conference: "Why should we reserve 20 million hectares for poor people who don't even pay taxes?"

He said many party officials were granted land concessions which they used as capital in joint ventures with foreign and local developers.

Back on the rocky outcrop of Umpele, far away from the legal wrangling, Ms Cossa said she hoped her community would be restored to its traditional land. "We pray that we can get our land back. We hope to hear on the radio that we will get our land back."



## News in brief

### Four dead after Naples hydrofoil hits rocks

**A**HYDROFOIL packed with commuters and tourists struck rocks and capsized off a small island in the Bay of Naples yesterday, killing at least four people and injuring many others.

The ferry had about 167 passengers and crew on board when it hit rocks in thick fog off the island of Procida at about 8.45 am as it headed

towards the port of Naples a few miles away. Officials said the evacuation of the ship was relatively orderly, with passengers and crew having time to put on life-jackets before it turned over.

The survivors swam to shore or were picked up by fishing boats. Divers recovered the bodies of four elderly Italians — three women and a

man — from the water. Most of the passengers were treated by medical crews on the docks and at the island's small hospital.

The hydrofoil was operated by the SNAV ferry company which runs regular services between Naples and the islands of Capri, Ischia and Procida, as well as popular coastal resorts. — Reuter.

### Workers unite against Bonn

Dieter Schulte, the chairman of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB), warned yesterday that more than 300,000 workers would demonstrate against a government austerity plan in "the most powerful union protest in post-war Germany".

The rally on Saturday in Bonn is intended as the climax of more than a month of protests against plans to cut social spending and employment rights in an effort to tackle a soaring budget deficit and combat high unemployment. — Reuter.

### Detainee asks Jiang for freedom

**A** SENIOR Chinese official released last month from a seven-year jail term imposed after the 1989 pro-democracy protests appealed yesterday to the Communist Party chief, Jiang Zemin, to free him from house arrest.

Bao Tong, aged 63, was freed from prison on May 27 and has since been held under house arrest at a dormitory of the State Council, or cabinet, on Beijing's western outskirts.

"Sitting in jail in Qiancheng prison, there is no limit... sitting in a cage in the Western hills, there is no limit," he wrote.

The former aide to ex-Communist Party chief Zhao Ziyang mailed 30 copies of his letter to senior party officials.

"To uphold the solemnity of the law, I earnestly request the party and state leaders to instruct the relevant authorities to rectify this illegal action," he said. — Reuter.

**Pregnancy toll**  
Complications during pregnancy or childbirth are among the leading causes of death among women in developing countries, claiming about 1,800 lives a day, a new study by Unicef, the World Health Organisation and Johns Hopkins University has said. — Reuter.

**Ass trade**  
Iran, apparently seeking to reverse a fall in non-oil exports, has authorised the export of 30,000 donkeys the daily Kayhan newspaper reported yesterday. — Reuter.

### Rwanda fires governors

**T**HE Rwandan government has sacked the governors of two insurgency-hit regions bordering Zaire and Burundi, officials said yesterday.

Both were Hutus, the majority tribe which unleashed the genocide of minority Tutsi and Hutu moderates in 1994. But diplomats said they were both replaced by Hutus.

In a departure from the official line that the situation in Rwanda is stable, one of the governors, Theobald Rutunduna, last month told aid agencies that security was worsening. — Reuter.

### EU states divided over quotas for foreign television shows

**E**UROPEAN UNION countries will today try to agree rules on television broadcasting but appear split over the most controversial issue — quotas on foreign shows.

Italy is likely to delay an agreement on quotas when EU culture ministers meet in Luxembourg to discuss the plan, an EU spokesman, Juan Roldán, said.

EU officials said Italy's new government appeared to be taking a harder line close to that of France which had sought to spell

out specific quotas for European and non-European broadcasts.

France also wants to make it difficult for television companies to beam into one member country from another to avoid local broadcast rules. The French also want pay-per-view services covered by European content rules.

Sweden and Finland, meanwhile, are seeking stronger limitations on the advertising of alcohol, and on advertising which targets children. — AP.

**Slovenia rewarded**  
Slovenia was rewarded yesterday for distancing itself from the Yugoslav conflict by being given an association agreement with the European Union, which promises trade and economic incentives, and immediately applied for full EU membership. — Reuter.

**Blasts hit Punjab**  
At least six people were killed and 48 wounded in three bomb explosions — including one which wrecked a bus — in the Pakistani province of Punjab

**Roeg strolls into his distributor's office wearing an instant-charisma fedora. He shakes hands and asks for an ashtray. "I'm going to smoke you out of here" he threatens.**

Opening the peace gate

A renewed ceasefire is still the key to success

BRITISH politicians and public opinion should not take pleasure from the shutting of the gates against Gerry Adams yesterday. There is a tendency in this country, following all the IRA bombs and the Sinn Fein evasions, to want to see Mr Adams and his colleagues taken down a peg or three. That tendency is very understandable in its way, but it is politically short-sighted. The goal for which British policy over Northern Ireland has been aiming ever since 1993 has been to see Mr Adams come walking through the gates, not to have them barred against him yet again. Yesterday put the clock back to the politics of the long years before 1993 which in the end solved nothing. Yesterday was not a victory but a setback.

Yet it was a setback rather than a disaster. The talks which began yesterday, amidst considerable posturing on all sides, are on a wider and more hopeful basis than those which have gone before. There has not been a time when quite so many of the real players in Northern Ireland have been willing to gather under one roof. To see the British and the Irish governments working so closely together lends genuine strength to the rest of the process. It was important too that Ian Paisley, who represents more people in Northern Ireland than Sinn Fein, did not carry out his threat to boycott the discussions (even though he may very easily do so in future); his Democratic Unionists should be inside the process not outside. The presence of the new loyalist parties, the Progressive Unionists and the Ulster Democratic Party, was an important new step in Northern Ireland talks as well.

The substance of the talks is also more firmly based than it would have been had the peace process not taken place. Three points cannot be dismissed. First, the meat of the agenda is the Framework Document produced by

London and Dublin last year, the most substantive blueprint for an equitable and democratic compromise settlement of the Northern Ireland question to have emerged in the last quarter of a century. Only the most pessimistic of pessimists would dismiss it as a basis for future progress. Second, the IRA may have chosen to remain at war, but the agenda now also includes, for the first time, the prospect of substantive multilateral steps towards the disarmament and decommissioning of the Ulster conflict. That has not happened in earlier talks either. Third, the responsibility for resolving the dispute is now more solidly internationalised than it ever was before. The 1992 talks broke down over exactly this question; now there is a three-person chairing team under George Mitchell, all with a proven record in this field, who together offer a better chance of progress than some of the more ambitious notions on which earlier talks have foundered.

None of this is to fudge the real failure which Sinn Fein's non-involvement represents. This stage of the peace process was predicated upon Sinn Fein's presence under ceasefire conditions, and that ought still to be the case. Nothing is more desirable in Northern Ireland than the restoration of that ceasefire. It ought to be a priority for the two governments to find ways of helping to achieve that goal on a principled basis, and no politician should be too proud to explore all the ways of doing it. Even now, there is still a case for harnessing the enormous popular support for the peace process to put pressure on the IRA. The end of the ceasefire was the event which locked the gates against Mr Adams. A resumption would turn the key to open those gates once more. It is overwhelmingly in our interests to try to help that come about.

An unnecessary privatisation

British Energy is being sold for a quick financial fix

IN AN ideal world someone should be able to take out an injunction to prevent yesterday's privatisation of British Energy (BE) from taking place until an independent body like the Audit Commission has worked out just how much the taxpayer is being taken for a ride. As it stands the prospectus for the sale of Britain's entire nuclear energy industry (minus the unseizable Magnox stations) is a monument to short-termism and impenetrable financial engineering. BE is expected to be sold for around £1.5 billion. Even if £700 million of debt transfer is added in, this still amounts to less than the cost of the company's last nuclear station, Sizewell B (not that it shows any signs of wanting to build another nuclear station in the foreseeable future). BE intends to pay out nearly £100 million in dividends this year (double its expected profits this year instead of the more usual 50 per cent) in order to bribe punters with a quick profit in an industry whose inherent risks demand long-term thinking. Last year's profit of £30 million was itself the residual of write-ins and write-offs totalling more than £3 billion even before considering controversial off-balance sheet items like the (only recently revealed) £3.7 billion transfer from the Government to Magnox Electric, the state-owned custodian of the ageing Magnox stations.

massive gift from the public to the private sector. What is not clear from yesterday's prospectus is whether all the potential liabilities of BE — especially decommissioning costs and the multi-billion-pound bill for getting rid of spent fuel — have been privatised as well as the assets. BE is a highly speculative investment even without all this, since success involves BE running its ageing AGRs for longer than originally planned at high levels of utilisation without problems (of a kind encountered in the recent past) which force them to be taken out of service. Other presumptions are that electricity prices don't fall by more than 5 per cent (which they could quite easily do) and that inflation doesn't rise significantly.

Two crucial questions remain unanswered. First, why is it necessary to privatise a company fraught with such serious environmental problems, whose future strategy is geared to diversifying away from its sole product (nuclear power) when nearly all utilities have proved to be inept at diversification? Second, even if a case could be made, why the hurry? With huge amounts of the taxpayers' money at stake and potentially catastrophic disposal problems, no time should have been spared to ensure that this sale was not only clean but seen to be clean. Instead everything has been rushed to get the sale completed before the election so the Treasury can get a quick financial fix, leaving subsequent administrations to pick up the tab.

15 parrot cries aren't a policy

If the EU didn't exist, fishing policies would have invented it

THOSE who insist that Europe should only be a continent of nation states — and we shall hear a lot about that today in the Commons from Bill Cash — ought to think about what happened in Luxembourg yesterday. The occasion was a meeting of EU fisheries ministers, who had gathered to discuss the European Commission's proposal to cut up to 40 per cent of the union's fishing fleet over the next six years in order to preserve threatened stocks.

inevitable structural limitations of a system in which defence of national rights is seen as more important than collective international problem-solving. The fundamental fact about the fish in our seas is that there are fewer and fewer of them. Stocks of mackerel, herring and sole are being rapidly and perhaps terminally depleted. Fifteen national governments will argue from now until kingdom come unless there is an international body with sufficient authority to force them to cooperate.

One by one, the fisheries ministers said their pieces. In every single instance, the message was Not Me. Guv. Fifteen times, in 15 different ways, ministers explained that overfishing is something that other countries' fishing industries do. Each minister said that his or her own national fleets should not be cut. If there were to be cuts they should be borne by the others.

That is why it falls to the Commission to propose the only policy which is good for the long-term health of Europe's fishing industry. Thank goodness for the European Commission. It speaks for the wider interest of Europe and its seas. Without it, a deal could of course be struck, but it would be a much less desirable one for Europe. A Europe of nation states, in other words, is simply not enough.



Letters to the Editor

Birt's world disservice

IT IS often said that the BBC World Service (a mission to destroy, June 10) is the only institution in this country of which we can today be proud. Perhaps this is because it has different roots from the domestic service.

SHARE John Tusa's concern with the latest Birian shake-up of its news service. The news and analysis provided on Newshour is far superior to the dreary, domestic preoccupations of Radio 4's Today. For those of us who want to know what is happening in Spain or Sri Lanka, and don't care whether Tony Blair smacks his kids, I say to John Birt, leave Newshour alone.

AMONG the advantages John Birt expects to follow from his new, over-worked bureaucracy, never once has he mentioned originality. He speaks instead of giving the licence-payers more of what they want. As a famous French fashion designer once said, "If you give people what they want, they will already have had it."

God and science, each with their fundamental truths

MARK LAWSON (God is not dead, June 10) exemplifies the sterility of modern discussions of religion in society, as seen in bewildered laments about irrationality and some ancestral need to believe. Why does it always have to be a choice between science or religion, as if there was no other way possible? We urgently require a new paradigm which can accommodate both.

WE LIVE in a country with a state religion and this has deeply structured our sense of freedom, jobs, status, official positions, places at schools and social life in general can be put at risk by not going along with the "Church parade effect". It is deep in the national psyche and many non-believers are unwilling to give any hostages to fortune by telling even the most respectable of opinion pollsters that they don't believe in fairies. If anything, the Humanist/Mori figure of 43 per cent freethinkers is too low.

AS MARK Lawson serious in saying that "religion cannot explain the suffering?" Christianity has a perfectly good explanation of suffering, that it is the consequence of sin: we suffer because we are fallen creatures. But we can be free of suffering through the redemption offered by Jesus Christ.

ANY SURVEY on the existence of God prompted by the British Humanist Association could and should be viewed with some suspicion. That association could hardly be regarded as neutral on the subject of the Creator, and Mori polls cannot be regarded as being anything like 100 per cent correct — general elections in recent years have underlined that fact.

PLEASE include a full postal address, even an e-mailed address, and a telephone number. We may edit letters to shorten ones more likely to appear. We regret we cannot acknowledge those not used.

What a drag

PROPOS Hugo Young's comments on Philip Morris's attempts to buy respectability (Commentary, June 6). I was struck by a similar instance on a recent visit to Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, just outside Rome. There among his magnificent monuments, the information boards each carried a large corporate credit and logo. I was surprised that the Italian authorities had been unwise or hard-up enough to permit this intrusive within such an important site. The sponsor? Philip Morris.



Fans' net loss at Euro 96

PLEASED as I am to see football coming home, I am disgusted to see that home supporters are being priced out of coming to matches (Supporters are forced into the penalty area, June 8). The evidence is there to see from the televised games this weekend — huge acres of seats empty. Old Trafford must have had its lowest attendance all season, simply because of the organisers' greed. We all know that there are enough supporters out there to fill every ground from end to end, but the prices asked exclude the vast majority.

Street, with fittings purpose made for large banners, are currently empty. Far more Euro 96 and other foreign visitors will visit Oxford Street than any other street in the country. Couldn't the FA and Westminster City Council get their act together and get some banners up before the tournament has progressed too far?

SOME small and faintly synthetic banners for Euro 96 have been placed along the North Circular Road and feeder roads around Wembley. Yet the very expensive new lamp-posts in Oxford

Listening to the distant voices of schizophrenia

NO ONE would argue that nearly and more accurate diagnosis of severe mental illnesses like schizophrenia would benefit both the individual and society as a whole (Positive thoughts for negative minds, Society, June 5). But is containment with medication the only answer?

THE automatic linking of schizophrenia with violence made in this article does in great disservice to the majority of people diagnosed with schizophrenia who are not violent but on whom the public's acceptance that they should be "medicated" — lands. Psychiatric drugs can indeed be valuable, but their sometimes "zombifying" effects can have a devastating impact on general health and quality of life. Medication has a role, but it is no substitute for all the other elements of treatment and care.

Biologists play the race card

ALTHOUGH Dr Maurice Bradley (Letters, June 10) may think that "the word 'race' implies a history of messy, unscientific and fundamentally separate 'races', that underpins beliefs in racial superiority", this is not how the word is used by biologists. For example, as opposed to subspecies, are recognised as different groups, which are ill-defined precisely because they are able freely to interbreed. Subspecies, although they can interbreed, have some biological or genetic impediment in doing so, with the hybrids, even if not sterile, less viable or fertile than non-hybrids.

WHAT is important is to realise that the variety of races — of homo sapiens for example — is a function of the climatic and environmental differences that occur on our planet and not a dehumanising excuse to grade into superior or inferior. Otherwise our own majority race in Britain — the Caucasians, could easily be dismissed as neutered, invasive, destructively indulgent, belligerent, and curiously hostile to the benefits of the environment. But we must never tire of seeking the humanity that underlies this kind of racial stereotyping.

A Country Diary

CHESHIRE: The steep roadside embankment behind the old brickworks site is carpeted with sheets of Birds-foot Trefol, many of the bright yellow flowers being flushed with red from which the plant gets one of its folk-names: Eggs and Bacon. In all more than 70 "local" names have been recorded for this common member of the Peaflower family, from references to the flowers such as "Grandmother's slippers", to names for the pods — which can look like fingers, toes, or claws — such as "God Almighty's thumb and finger, Crow-toe, and Cat's claws. On the embankment it is the main food-plant of the Common Blue butterfly and several males have already emerged, busily patrolling their patches, waiting for the first females to appear. Butterfly numbers have improved during the previous weeks, with all three of the Common Whites now flying — the Large, Small, and Green-veined; male Or-

ange-tips are a regular sight around the long lines of Hedge Garlic along the river bank, although I have yet to see the less obvious female, and the diminutive Small Copper has been taking full advantage of some fine days to bask in the sun on its favourite stone or patch of earth. The change to warmer weather has produced an influx of the Painted Lady butterfly, on a recent walk through the woods and over the fields around the village I recorded seven of these brightly coloured migrants. Originating in South-west Europe or North Africa, they are strong fliers, said to cover their 800 mile migration at an average speed of 10mph, and in a good year will spread throughout the UK. The early arrivals will lay eggs giving rise to a second generation in September and October, but they will not survive our cold and wet winter.

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JP 11/6/96

Diary Dan Atkinson

MICHAEL Howard believes in clarity of meaning; his drive for "honesty in sentencing" proves it. But he was uncharacteristically vague when his sister's youth was raised by columnist and Tory candidate Boris Johnson in the Daily Telegraph yesterday. "I had a very good time in the sixties," declared the Home Secretary, who confessed to having (a) played in a skiffle band and (b) read Jack Kerouac.

ELSEWHERE in the criminal justice system, the humble JP would appear to be the latest niche market for advertisers. The pages of The Magistrate tempt their worshippers with goodie-for-examples: "We care for Odd Size Gentlemen with Made to Measure trousers" declares "Brit's trouser specialist" Brock Britne, beneath an illustration of some very odd-shaped legs indeed. Hamilton Direct Bank screams: "12.9 per cent APR" in a plug for "unsecured personal loans for magistrates" (well, really). "Commiserate the day you were appointed," urges Yorkshire Calligraphers, offering a certificate in "old English text" for £19. The "scroll of retirement" costs another tenner.

THE Duchy of Lancaster is an agreeable place with an ancient history, some beautiful countryside and its own special seal. Why, then, does its Chancellor, Roger Freeman, feel the need to do anything other than sit tight and Chancel away, especially as his extra jobs bring him nothing but grief? Yesterday, in his role as Mr BSE, he was facing cattlemen in the auction market at Thirsk, Yorkshire. An amicable enough encounter, we hear, but one for which no sensible person would have volunteered. Back in London, Labour frontbencher Chris Smith was taking aim at another of Chancellor or Freeman's hats: Minister for Public Services. A written question to Mr Freeman had demanded the number of Government computer contracts awarded Andersen Consulting. Back came details, including three projects for the Department of Social Services, a ministry Whitehall wots not of. Mr Smith tabled a follow-up question, asking Mr Freeman to define this new department. No reply as yet.

A LITTLE more respect, please, for the Natural Law Party in elections for the Northern Ireland forum. Never mind the "yogic flying" cracks; the NLP levitated above five other parties and came last in only four of the 18 constituencies. In West Belfast, Sinn Féin's good result deflected attention from the NLP's triumphant trouncing of the venerable Communist Party of Ireland by 30 votes to 28. And in Foyles, the John Hume and Martin McGuinness victories overshadowed Natural Law's crushing by 41 to 40 of Democratic Left, formerly the Official IRA and a party that considers itself a major player. These achievements are all the more remarkable given that Natural Law pulled out before the vote and did not campaign, but failed to get its name removed from the ballot. Just think what could have been achieved by a mainstream political heavyweight such as Lord Sutch.

WE hope members of the Evening Standard theatre club tempted by Friday's offer of cut-price tickets for Mind Mille For Me ("the show is running successfully at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket") checked the front-page story stating: "Felicity Kendal's comedy Mind Mille For Me is to close early with losses reported to exceed £500,000."



Lies, damned lies, and Ulster politics

Commentary Hugo Young

YESTERDAY in Belfast, history was not made. The talks that have come to nothing. The psychology of the historic moment is the curse of all that is now supposedly being attempted. As a commentator, I'm conscious that I should transcend this. I should be entering into the spirit of history with more enthusiasm: reflecting the positions of the participants, finely analysing their objectives, surveying the material ceaselessly fed out by their spokesmen, all of which finds a way of asserting the common interest in peace while rejecting every detail of the way the other side proposes to achieve it.

It could, in retrospect, become one. On the whole, I hope it doesn't. Conceivably, June 10, 1996 in Belfast will be a day for history to reckon with. But there seems a decent case for waiting and seeing before raising these grand expectations. We have heard about other historic moments in Ulster. Irish history is all too full of them, roughly divided between

those written in blood and those that have come to nothing. The psychology of the historic moment is the curse of all that is now supposedly being attempted. As a commentator, I'm conscious that I should transcend this. I should be entering into the spirit of history with more enthusiasm: reflecting the positions of the participants, finely analysing their objectives, surveying the material ceaselessly fed out by their spokesmen, all of which finds a way of asserting the common interest in peace while rejecting every detail of the way the other side proposes to achieve it. Nor, of course, should one be deflected from such intimations of historic moment by the minor incongruities that one of the main players has so far failed to get to the table. This is a temporary blip, only to be expected. I ought to be further assisted by a complete and honest absence of allegiance. Catholicism might turn me one way, Britishness the other. My innate, equal strengths pull me with equal strength in two directions. Except that I cannot claim possession of even one of these fortresses. I experience an equal lack of sympathy for either of the two groupings that have the power to make the historic moment, both of which seem quite determined, beneath layers of rhetorical pretence,

to break it. Perhaps this is why, with few exceptions, most of them based in academe or in Dublin, the only observers whose words are a match for the situation they are addressing tend to be those with a fanatically committed point of view. They offer no help. They've signed the pledge. Fire and bias are their only stock-in-trade. But at least they are in the same game. The main rule of this game is lying. Perhaps I am too fastidious. I've been around politics and politicians long enough to understand that none of them could succeed if they were bound by the court-room oath — the truth, the whole truth and nothing but. But Ulster politics is uniquely dependent on the oxygen of mendacity. Lying about both ends and means is so much the everyday stuff of life that the participants have long since failed to notice it. The reporter/analyst can point this out. But its systemic prevalence comes to defeat normal dialogue. Ulster nourishes a politics in which every last comma of a statement must be routinely analysed to death, and then disbelieved. A process, however, which is still regarded by all lifetime students and practitioners with addictive fascination. Martin McGuinness seriously expects us to believe he has no power in the IRA.

Goaded by Michael Mates on Breakfast With Frost, he offers a rant which seems to pretend he has barely even heard of the IRA. The BBC meticulously demonstrates the power-structure of the IRA, placing Mr McGuinness very near the top, and the Sinn Féin spokesman is instantly to be found blabbing on television about the irrelevance, and outrageous unhelpfulness, of such speculation at this time of a possible historic breakthrough. How should we regard Mr McGuinness? As an agent of the peace engaging in a little necessary duplicity for the greater good? Or as someone whose contempt for the truth is as congenial as his hatred of the British? But he is not the only politician dependent on such a

The talks could be their own solution. The one thing that all sides agree on is that they will go on for a very long time

life-support system. In his way, David Trimble, the leader of the Ulster Unionists, practises as large a deception. Mr Trimble is a smooth, apparently reasonable performer. He is bound to challenge the credentials of Senator Mitchell, but you know he won't let the senator's imputed bias be more than a negotiating point. At bottom, however, Mr Trimble and his party use smoothness as Mr McGuinness uses implacable resistance: as the tool of mutual concessions these talks are supposed to engineer.

In this context, it falls to outsiders to import a framework within which some hope of bomb-free living can be offered to Ulster and the mainland. The retired generals and senators from far away across the sea, who are prepared to make the effort, should enjoy our unqualified admiration. Mr Major, another outsider, may have made a few mistakes in his handling of the profoundly unreasonable forces to whom he tried to apply the force of reason. But he has addressed himself to a task for which few voters were likely to thank him. His effort reached another climax, one of many, when Mr Bruton and he stood on Ulster soil yesterday to start these talks. The talks themselves could be their own solution. The one thing that all sides agree on is that they will go on for a very long time. The timetable for plenary sessions and working-group sub-sessions stretches well into 1997. A de facto IRA ceasefire, as Kevin Toole points out on this page yesterday, has held in Ulster. Observers closer to the psyche than I can ever presume to get seem to be sure this will become sufficiently de jure to let Gerry Adams into the room some time soon. The IRA is prepared for the Ulster political machine, that engine of endless discourse lurching between the highest of principles and the lowest of tactics, to settle in. Heated, several who have no known African antecedents turn out to possess the trait. The Sunday Telegraph reports that blonde, blue-eyed mothers-to-be are searching their family trees for African ancestors.

They may have to go a long way back. African legions came over with the Romans. The Phoenicians, whose empire incorporated substantial regions of North Africa, may have engaged in active trade with Britain seven centuries before Christ. Among the seafaring Iberians of the Bronze Age, there could have been people from the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar. If these genes are of African origin, and not the result of spontaneous mutation in northern Europe, two implications leap to mind. The first is that we should be doubly cautious about linking genetic characteristics to race. Packages of genes are mobile and slippery. Those coding for dark skin and curly hair might go one way; those for other ostensibly racial characteristics another. Scarcely less evident is the damage such findings do to the notion of the "true-born" Englishman. Of all the peoples of the world, we are perhaps the least qualified to describe ourselves thus, as our identity is the result of repeated migrations. But a glance at human prehistory makes it clear that there is no such thing as a true-born anyone. Racial purity is, and has always been, a myth. Homo sapiens, like the wildebeest or the Arctic tern, is a migratory species. The East African savannahs in which we emerged are among the most volatile of ecosystems. We survived their vicissitudes by following the rains. The need to wander made us what we are: our brains, hands, limbs and senses, our social life and patterns of thought are those of the migrant. It is scarcely any wonder, therefore, that every

The genes that went out in the midday sun



George Monbiot

SICKLE cell anaemia is a disease which keeps people alive. In malaria-infested places, the malformation of red blood cells it causes means that the parasite has trouble getting a foothold. In Africa, the gene — despite conferring health problems of its own — seems to carry an advantage, as one in 10 Afro-Caribbean people possess it. Among northern Europeans, it was unknown until this year. As the first results of the genetic screening of pregnant women are published, several who have no known African antecedents turn out to possess the trait. The Sunday Telegraph reports that blonde, blue-eyed mothers-to-be are searching their family trees for African ancestors.

They may have to go a long way back. African legions came over with the Romans. The Phoenicians, whose empire incorporated substantial regions of North Africa, may have engaged in active trade with Britain seven centuries before Christ. Among the seafaring Iberians of the Bronze Age, there could have been people from the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar. If these genes are of African origin, and not the result of spontaneous mutation in northern Europe, two implications leap to mind. The first is that we should be doubly cautious about linking genetic characteristics to race. Packages of genes are mobile and slippery. Those coding for dark skin and curly hair might go one way; those for other ostensibly racial characteristics another. Scarcely less evident is the damage such findings do to the notion of the "true-born" Englishman. Of all the peoples of the world, we are perhaps the least qualified to describe ourselves thus, as our identity is the result of repeated migrations. But a glance at human prehistory makes it clear that there is no such thing as a true-born anyone. Racial purity is, and has always been, a myth. Homo sapiens, like the wildebeest or the Arctic tern, is a migratory species. The East African savannahs in which we emerged are among the most volatile of ecosystems. We survived their vicissitudes by following the rains. The need to wander made us what we are: our brains, hands, limbs and senses, our social life and patterns of thought are those of the migrant. It is scarcely any wonder, therefore, that every

nation should have been built from endless migrations; that race, if definable at all, should be fuzzy at the edges. Of particular pertinence is the origin and migration of that tiny group of genes whose physical expression has caused so much persecution and segregation — the cluster which codes for black skin. It has long been known that skin pigment is a defence against solar radiation. But this knowledge presents a problem. Why do some peoples who have long lived in places with high levels of ultraviolet light (such as the Andes or the Kalahari Desert) have much paler skins than peoples living in places with less exposure, such as the rainforests of West Africa? This is a question that Dr Jonathan King addresses in his remarkable book, Self-Made Man. Very dark skin, he observed, is distributed patchily in far-flung parts of the world. It's found in several parts of Africa, in Tamil Nadu and the Andaman Islands; in a few remote places in the Philippines and Indonesia; and in much of Melanesia. If the trait had not arisen independently in lots of different places, then how could its extraordinary distribution be explained?

KINGDON noticed that all sensible peoples (the English appear to be the only exception) keep out of the midday sun. Black skin is necessary, he speculated, only where exposure to full solar radiation is unavoidable. Mountain, savannah or forest people can take shelter, but the movements of people who survive by foraging the seashore at low water are determined not by the sun but the tide. Stopping over the shadeless reef, surrounded by the glittering sea, their dose of radiation could hardly have been greater. Nowhere in the tropics has more coastline or more edible intertidal life than the archipelagoes of south-east Asia. Strikingly, Kingdon found that ocean currents rove all the way back, via Tamil Nadu to the coast of Africa. People who floated across the ocean would have spread along the African coast, then up the rivers into the interior, to mix with the indigenous populations. The genes which determine skin colour are only randomly linked to other presumed characteristics of "Africanness". We are a cursed species. We are migratory peoples, long forced to settle, who nevertheless resent the migrations of others. A handful of genes, dispersed by accidents of history, gives us the means of singling out some of the migrants from everyone else. Had the devil driven evolution, he could not have done better. Humankind is left with no greater task than to stifle the seeds of conflict which our biological history has sown among us.

Choose and lose

Whatever the outcome of the first round of elections for the Russian presidency on Sunday, David Hearst says that the winner will have to learn to compromise — as the time for revolution or radical reform is now over

THE lasting image of Boris Yeltsin's campaign for re-election as president is a picture of two jackets — one made of denim, the other with prison stripes. Underneath is the slogan: "Choose or Lose". For that, we are told, is what it is all about — reform versus retreat, the future versus the past, the Whites versus the Reds. In western capitals this message is only slightly nuanced. Yeltsin is seen as a reformer at heart, even though the task of supporting him means having to look the other way for a fair amount of the time. This is done every day over the behaviour of Russian troops in Chechnya, a war which actually gets more violent every time Russia signs a ceasefire deal. The IMF also had to avert its gaze when the Russian government raided five trillion roubles from the Central Bank last week in order to pay just part of the backlog of wages. That, in anyone's language, was highly inflationary. No matter: the IMF paid the monthly tranche of its \$10.2 billion loan without a murmur. Worse still, Yeltsin blamed the IMF for not paying more.

Boris Yeltsin appears to be behaving like Mr Toad in The Wind in The Willows, a well-meaning but backsliding animal. Without his friends, Badger (Clinton), Ratty (Kohl) and Mole (Major), to correct him, Toad Hat would almost certainly fall into the hands of the weasels and the stoats — the communists and nationalists. If the Chief Weasel, Genady Zyuganov, the main communist challenger, had printed money as Yeltsin did last week, the reaction of the IMF would have been to stop making its monthly payments immediately. But all of Toad's rash promises are forgiven him in the greater cause of keeping him in Toad Hall.

No one really likes him. Few believe he will last another term of office, but the alternative is too horrible to contemplate, so the argument goes. There is one slight problem with this line of thinking. And that is the opinion of 105 million Russians. After 10 years of industrial decline, with factories almost at a halt, with a government unable to pay its workers their wages, and no money being invested in new industry, the Russians are apt to see the concepts of reform, privatisation and liberalisation in different terms from the West. They demand protection, the return of a strong hand at the tiller and a national industrial policy. Yes, they want reform, but they want it with central



heating. Whoever is the winner of this election will have to take the new mood in the country seriously. There is always the option of ruling by force, and Yeltsin himself has toyed with this idea more than once. But even if he were disposed to become an autocrat, Yeltsin currently lacks the means. In spite of the dire provocations, the armed forces have done Russia's nascent democracy a sterling service by staying out of politics. Even the celebrated power of the presidential bodyguard, the lingo of Russian politics, General Alexander Korzhakov, is not total and certainly not nationwide. The rank and file are more likely to vote either for Alexander Lebed, the retired general, or for Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the extreme nationalist. Lebed might easily

emerge as Yeltsin's next minister of defence, and at that price, the Russian president may temporarily buy the loyalty of the army. But no one is going to go to the line to save the president's skin. In the last major confrontation in October 1993, both Boris Yeltsin and Alexander Rutskoy, the leader of the parliamentary revolt, had supreme difficulty getting troops out to support their cause. There is no indication that this would change now. If the army does not enter politics, whoever emerges as Russia's next president will have to take into account the millions of votes culled by the loser. The polls say Yeltsin is going to get double Zyuganov's vote and Yeltsin himself said he intends to win outright in the first round next Sunday. Experience of previous Russian elections shows

that the result will be closer. Anatoli Sobchak was leading in the polls on the eve of a local election in St Petersburg, where he was narrowly defeated as mayor. If Yeltsin wins with 53 per cent of the vote in the second round, and Zyuganov loses narrowly, the victorious president still has to live in a country where over 33 million people — one-third of the electorate — voted against him. He faces a divided country, a bankrupt system of federal finances, no means of paying the summer's salaries and no quick means of extricating himself from the mess. This means ruling the country with a broad coalition government, which would, by its nature, have to adopt many of the policies and the personalities of the loser. The same logic works if Zyuganov were to be victori-

ous. Even if he wanted to, Zyuganov could not expropriate private property on a large scale or close the kiosks without facing an armed revolt. Zyuganov himself has recognised that the five million small businessmen would protect their property with guns. Even before these crucial elections the two colours — the white and the red — are beginning to merge. One of the most important policy changes to be seen in Yeltsin's election manifesto concerns the sale of agricultural land.

With the exception of allotments, peasant plots, dacha holdings and land in cities, most land in Russia still belongs to the state. Yeltsin always stood for the free sale of agricultural land, as a means of breaking up the huge state farms and the enormously powerful lobby of the communist allies, the agrarians. Now, for the first time, he has come out against the "uncontrolled" sale of a peasant's share of the state farm land. This is a gift to the agrarian lobby.

IG business is also changing its political tune. The capitalists so quickly acquiesced in the privatisation has begun to find a home, not only on the London property market, but in Russian industry as well. Yesterday's speculators, the pejorative Russian word for wild owners of defunct cotton mills in Ivanova, Russia's Red Manchester.

Now they, too, are worrying about the high price of cotton from Uzbekistan, and the fact that the Russian market is being flooded by cheap Chinese imports. Yesterday's opponents of the free market become today's supporters of high tariff barriers. Russian investors in Russian industry are rediscovering their nationalism. Another surprising change in political colour. Yeltsin is not by nature a man who finds it easy to compromise. Yet compromise is what is demanded by Russia's near-bankrupt finances, and with a people exhausted after 10 years of continuous upheaval. Many of Yeltsin's closest advisers would lose their power as a consequence. Perhaps that is why they are the first to talk up the possibility of civil strife and civil war, and why, by the same token, the most peaceful and circumspect performer on the Russian political stage is Zyuganov himself.

In reality, there is no other choice. The time for radical reformers or revolutionaries in Russia is over. Russia is in the process of reforming its own nationhood, its own industrial, social and defence policies. The process can be achieved with or without western help or influence. As Russia has shown many times in the past, it always emerges stronger from its crises. The real question is whether Russia will emerge in 10 years' time from this painful rebirth well or ill-disposed to its weaker Western European partners.

Advertisement for 'Adopt a Granny' featuring a woman's face and text: 'She has no-one to turn to but you. Don't let her down.' Includes details about Mrs Helen Higgs and contact information.

Form for 'Adopt a Granny' with fields for name, address, postcode, telephone number, and a section for 'Yes, I'm interested in sponsoring an elderly person.' Includes a phone number 0171 858 0855.

Sanjiva Reddy

# An Indian patriarch

**N**ELAM Sanjiva Reddy, India's former head of state who has died aged 83, was one of those politicians who naturally seek out power, suffering almost no inhibitions along the way. Long ago, he boasted that he never kept a job for longer than two years and that he rose higher every time he left a post. While events in 1969 and 1977 broke the pattern, during a half-century political career his observation was largely true. He was provincial Congress party secretary at 23; member of a legislative assembly at 33; a founding father of the Indian Constitution by his mid-thirties; then, state minister, deputy chief minister and twice chief minister of south India's largest state, Andhra Pradesh. He was national Congress president for three years under Jawaharlal Nehru a cabinet minister, speaker of India's lower house of parliament, the Lok Sabha; and, finally, President of the republic from 1977-82. The only office he never held was prime minister.

He was a central figure in two of the major Indian political dramas of our time. His adversaries were two controversial prime ministers who were themselves bitter political enemies: Indira Gandhi, a practitioner of *realpolitik*, and Morarji Desai, famous for austerity and inflexibility.

In 1969 Reddy was fielded as the official Congress candidate for the Indian Presidential election and was defeated by a candidate backed by Indira Gandhi. She targeted Reddy as a reactionary representative of old bosses out of tune with the new India, and went on to split the party and return to power as unchallenged leader.

In 1977 Gandhi's hated Emergency was overturned in an election. At which point the new president, Reddy, ran foul of Indira Gandhi's great rival, Prime Minister Morarji Desai, who was 17 years older, expected Reddy to defer to him, and confine himself to an ornamental role as head of state. Relations deteriorated rapidly.

In 1979, after Desai's Janata Party government fell, Reddy attracted controversy by refusing to give Desai a second term and eventually dissolved parliament rather than give an opportunity to Jagjivan Ran, Desai's successor as leader, to form the government. This drama paved the way for Indira Gandhi's 1980 return to power.

Born into a middle-class Andhra Pradesh landlord family, his early education was in Madras but while at the government arts college in Anahapur he gave up his studies to immerse himself in the nationalist struggle. He spent the greater part of the period 1940-45 in British Indian jails.

Reddy was seen as the man who could unify the feuding factions within Congress in what became Andhra Pradesh. He defeated a veteran politician in a famous 1961 party election for the provincial party presidency, but, following the death of his five-year-old son in a gruesome motor accident, the devastated father resigned. But there was no question of party elders accepting this as an attempt in his life to escape from the pressures and attractions of public life.

Twice, before he became chief minister of an enlarged Andhra Pradesh in 1956, he made a splash by acts of well-calculated sacrifice. He persuaded a legendary rival to accept the chief ministership of the new state while becoming deputy; and he withdrew from a 1956 party presidential election in the interest of party unity. Later, he collected on the debts the party owed him.

Reddy is remembered as a strong Andhra Pradesh chief minister, and he brought some kind of development orientation to his stewardship of an infant state, while his wit and repartee made him a formidable debater. But there were many outstanding persons, particularly on the left, in Andhra Pradesh's politics then and some of them were regarded as having greater depth than Reddy.

If his first chief minister-

ship turned out to be a somewhat contentious period, his second innings ended under a cloud in February 1964: he was obliged to resign in the wake of Supreme Court strictures against what would, in essence, be recognised today as a dirty trick against a political opponent. However, within his party and at the highest level, Reddy was praised for setting high standards of public conduct through this act of renunciation when his own direct involvement in the dirty trick had not been proved.

In 1964 he was inducted into the national cabinet by Nehru's successor as prime minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri. He was regarded as a competent, although not a distinguished, minister. As speaker of the lower house Reddy was respected for his firmness and fair play.

Over the last two decades of his life, he won admiration for the spirited fight he put up against a variety of ailments. An episode of cancer, which he said he had "purchased" through his habit of chain smoking, was courageously overcome. He fell seriously ill in 1983 and fought his way back to a normal life. He is survived by Neelam Nagarthamma, his wife of 61 years, a son and two daughters.

In the final analysis, the significance of Reddy's passing lies in the questions he raised, as head of state, about

the nature of the president's role in India's parliamentary form of government, and also in the fact that he was one of the last, disappearing links between the politics of the freedom struggle and the politics of today.

There is a strict constitutionalist view of the presidency that has been pressed recently. According to this, a constitutional president must not deviate from the narrow path laid out for him (there has been no *her* to date in India) in the constitution. He must not claim any substantive powers, must not tread on executive toes, and must not enter into areas suggesting the potentially arbitrary use of presidential powers. In other words, the constitutional head of state must be above temptation.

Reddy has left us a memoir titled *Without Fear or Favour*, which presents his side of the story. It is an interesting read. But it is hard today to avoid the judgment that his approach to the highest office in the land was somewhat flawed and he seemed to give in at least a little to temptation. But that did not take too much away from a public career remarkable for its longevity, range and versatility.



Disappearing link... President Reddy in 1981, active in India's struggle for independence PA

## Pilar Lorengar

# Prima donna of Berlin



A purity of tone... Pilar Lorengar FAYERS/PAPATE COLLECTION

**P**ILAR Lorengar, who has died aged 68, was one of the most charming, feminine prima donnas of the postwar era. Although considered a great star, Lorengar was an opera singer of the old school who preferred to be a member of an ensemble, staying in one place to develop her repertory.

It was in Berlin that Lorengar became the reigning soprano. When she celebrated 25 years at the Deutsche Oper in 1964, Golo Friedrich, then intendant of the company said: "Pilar Lorengar made our ears clear and opened our hearts... the purity of her tone is grounded in harmony of person, voice, character and personality."

Pilar Lorengar Garcia was born in Zaragoza, Spain. She began to sing in the convent choir and was fired with a desire to sing in the theatre by broadcasts on Radio Zaragoza. She successfully auditioned for the radio station. Her family could not afford singing lessons but when they moved to Madrid Pilar sang in cafés

and earned enough to study with Angeles Otzin, a well-known Zarzuela soprano. She joined a touring company and was noticed by a representative of the Orquesta Nacional and became a soloist in the *Brubans Requiem*.

Lorengar's opera debut was as Cherubino in *Le Nozze di Figaro* at the Aix-en-Provence Festival in 1955. Conducted by Hans Roelandt this performance was later issued on disc, and the purity and playfulness of Lorengar's youthful soprano can easily be heard. From Aix, she appeared in New York and London, at Covent Garden, where she sang the title role in *La Traviata* in English, and then at Glyndebourne in 1956 as Pamina in Carl Ebert's production of *Die Zauberflöte*, conducted by Victor Gollancz and designed by Oliver Messel. "ravishingly sung and beautiful to look at."

Carl Ebert, who engaged Lorengar for her first appearance in Berlin, and Terence MacSwiney, then of London Records, later the head of San

Francisco Opera, became the guiding influences in her career. McEwen recalled, "I heard her Violetta at Covent Garden; and of course she didn't know what she was singing... but what a gorgeous child she was, how unbelievably beautiful!"

Lorengar settled in Berlin. She became a favourite soprano with several great conductors. In 1958 she sang Pamina in *Zauberflöte* in Buenos Aires, under Sir Thomas Beecham, in *Idomeneo* at the Salzburg Festival in 1961. Donna Anna in *Don Giovanni* at Covent Garden in 1963 with Josef Krips and at Aix under Michael Gielen, and was Covent Garden's first Florentine when Georg Solti conducted *Così fan tutte* in 1968.

In Berlin, however, she seemed to give her best performance, and it was there that she continued to add new roles to her repertory. As well as the Mozart roles, she was a memorable Marenka in Smetana's *The Bartered Bride*, Isabella in Falla's *Atlántida*. Her Verdi roles, all opposite Die-

trich Fischer-Dieskau, included Elisabeth in *Don Carlos*, Alice in *Falstaff*, Violetta in *La Traviata*; in Puccini she was heard as Tosca, Butterfly, *Sour Angelica*, *her Wagner roles were Elsa in Lohengrin* and *Eva in Meistersinger* — a part she also sang in New York, Chicago and San Francisco. Lorengar sang in Tel Aviv, as Donna Anna conducted by Giulini, and as Desdemona opposite James McCracken's Othello, conducted by Istvan Kertész. When Lorin Maazel became music director of the Berlin Opera, she established a close rapport with him (they 1969 recording of *La Traviata* remains one of the best).

Anglo-Saxon critics were inclined to carp about Lorengar's "blackidity" and made little remarks about her size. When she sang Eurydice in Gluck's *Orpheus* at Covent Garden in 1969, Opera reported "It was as if the youthful Orpheus went to Hades to find his mother." In the 1960s, more enlightened critics defended Lorengar accusing her detrac-

tors of fatism and ageism. Lorengar's last Berlin triumph was as Valentine in Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* in John Dew's 1981 production, conducted by Jesus Lopez-Cobos. Set in a divided Berlin, in modern dress, Lorengar was transformed by a blonde wig and hairdo. She astonished the audiences in her 60th year, by the passion of her singing and her partnership with the young American tenor Richard Leach. When they sang the act four duet at a gala concert in New York the following year, they stole the evening.

"I want to grow older happily. You must know when to stop, before people say bad things about you. When I leave I will just stop, no long farewells, just goodbye," Lorengar said in 1986. That was just how she did it, appearing in San Francisco as Manon Lescaut and Elisabeth de Valois — in French. "I am very emotional," she said afterwards. "But I had a teacher who warned me, 'You must not cry yourself, you must make the audience cry!'" It is not tears that one remembers from Lorengar, though, it is a delicious warmth and shimmer.

**Birthdays**

Jean Alessi, racing driver, 32; John Dew's 1987 production, conducted by Jesus Lopez-Cobos. Set in a divided Berlin, in modern dress, Lorengar was transformed by a blonde wig and hairdo. She astonished the audiences in her 60th year, by the passion of her singing and her partnership with the young American tenor Richard Leach. When they sang the act four duet at a gala concert in New York the following year, they stole the evening.

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**Death Notices**

**CORNWALL**, Cornwall: struck down and killed by a speeding car on June 4 after a long illness, Doris White, widow of a retired teacher, 84, a passionate cyclist, gardener and amateur painter. Special funeral service at 11.00, conducted by Rev. Fred Chapel, Overseas District, St. Andrew's Church, Cornwall. Burial at St. Andrew's Church, Cornwall. (01324 57228).

**HEARNSAY**, on the 8th June at the home in Hearsay, Fred Harry Hearnsay, 84, a retired teacher, a keen sportsman and a devoted husband and father. Burial at Hearsay Church on Wednesday 12th June at 1.0 pm. Followed by cremation at Durham Crematorium. Flowers only please. Donations if desired may be given after the service for the NSPCC or The British Heart Foundation or sent to Alderley Funeral Directors, Whitehouse Lane, Ushaw Moor, Durham (0191 27228).

**WORSWICK**, Worswick, 57 years, of Leatton, Tidmarsh, Chesham, on June 6 after a long illness, Doris White, widow of a retired teacher, 84, a passionate cyclist, gardener and amateur painter. Special funeral service at 11.00, conducted by Rev. Fred Chapel, Overseas District, St. Andrew's Church, Cornwall. Burial at St. Andrew's Church, Cornwall. (01324 57228).

**MEMORIAL SERVICES**

**QUINCY**, Rev. James Professor of Applied Mathematics, University of Durham 1944 to 1968. Died suddenly on 6th June at the Graham Sports Centre, Durham City. A deeply loved husband, father and grandfather. A Special Funeral Service will be held at 11.00 am, Wednesday 10th June at 1.0 pm, followed by cremation at Durham Crematorium. Flowers only please. Donations if desired may be given after the service for the NSPCC or The British Heart Foundation or sent to Alderley Funeral Directors, Whitehouse Lane, Ushaw Moor, Durham (0191 27228).

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## Colin Morris

# Reel to real life

**C**OLIN Morris, who has died aged 80, found fame in the 1950s both as the author of *Reluctant Heroes* — the Whitehall farce which made Brian Rix a household name — and for his pioneer work on BBC television documentaries.

Born in Liverpool, Colin followed in the family's theatrical footsteps. His mother was an actress and playwright, and young Colin started out as a "child boy" in repertory theatre. More interested in writing than acting (he had applied to and was turned down by the local newspaper), he managed to

get some of his first plays performed in the provinces, and was published by small presses.

It was the outbreak of war that provided Colin with new material, taking him overseas and presenting him with a whole new set of characters. His first London production, *Desert Rats*, was performed in 1945 and drew directly on his own war time experiences in North Africa. The second, *Reluctant Heroes*, was a big hit and ran for four years at the Whitehall Theatre with a cast that included not only Brian Rix as Gregory, but Colin himself playing Captain Percy.

It was around this time that Colin started training as a marriage guidance counsellor (for the organisation now known as Relate). He once told a journalist: "I felt so guilty enjoying myself night after night and making money for it. I knew I had to do something useful during the day to help other people."

BBC television was expanding rapidly at this time. Many people had bought sets for the Coronation, and the cost was coming within the reach of ordinary families. Colin joined the BBC in 1964, teaming up with Gilchrist Calder to produce drama documentaries. Their first (*Unloved*

(1965), was a play about a delinquent boy which examined the long term effects of a deprived childhood. It raised social problems that interested Gil and Colin were alcoholism, loneliness, unhappy marriage, unmarried mothers and prostitution. The social climate of that period did not encourage "Victorian" subject and prostitution was a taboo subject in the BBC. Colin brought a sympathetic approach to these subjects and gave viewers a new insight into other people's lives.

Always interested in police procedures, Colin set about investigating police interrogation methods. A programme called *Who Me?* came about after a night spent in the company of Detective Sgt Bill Prendergast of the Liverpool pool police and three petty criminals. The series *It's Jacks and Knives* soon followed, based on four of Prendergast's cases. This series

(now Down's Syndrome) child on a family.

The production had first been inspired by his friend Brian Rix's experience as the father of a Down's Syndrome child, and the programme drew a strong response from BBC audiences. One viewer enclosed a cheque saying: "We had a whip round at bingo, please use this for the kiddies." Another woman wrote: "I always crossed to the other side of the street when I saw a neighbour with their mongol child. After seeing your programme I offered to babysit for her."

Television was now a regular feature of British life and Morris created the twice weekly serial *The Muvverners* for early evening transmission followed by *The Dicks* (set in a GP's practice) and *King of the River*, based on a family with a Thames barge.

In 1968 he began a new

television career in front of the camera — interviewing people about their problems in the series *People in Conflict*. After retiring from the BBC in 1976, he worked part-time as an unqualified social worker for Ealing Social Services, and continued as a television interviewer (mostly for Yorkshire Television).

A modest man with a great sense of humour Colin hated cruelty, especially where children were concerned. He will be remembered as a pioneer who wasn't afraid to portray social problems at a time when they were considered unsuitable, and as a writer whose greatest talent was to explain how a violent human being is formed.

**In Memoriam**

**DOULD**, Leslie, 11 July 1922-23 March 1986. Who won't be forgotten ever. Not even when he's a hundred. Deeply missed every day.

**Memorial Services**

**FURNELL**, A Memorial Mass of Thanksgiving for the late Miss Joan Furnell will be held at 12.00 on 14th June 1986 at St. James's Church, Newcastle Road, London SW17.

**Engagements**

**O'SHAUGHNESSY-FRANCIS**, Gruffudd and Eileen, are pleased to announce the marriage of their daughter Elizabeth to the Rev. Canon John Francis, O.S.A., at 11.00 am on 14th June 1986 at St. John's Church, Newcastle Road, London SW17.

**Black cats, black arts, blackball.**

Misery is when you can see all the other kids in the dark but they claim they can't see you.

Misery is when your white teacher tells the class that all negroes can sing and you can't even carry a tune.

Misery is when you see that it takes the whole National Guard to get you into the new integrated school.

Extracts from black misery by Langston Hughes, key feature in the 1986 Harlem Renaissance First published in 1969, the prediction of a black child addressing to the new integrated world of the 1960s. It was the last book he wrote before he died in 1969. After 25 years it is being re-issued on June 27 by Oxford University Press.

Jackdaw wants jewels. E-mail jackdaw@2000.com.uk; fax 0171-713 4366. Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

**Emily Sheffield**

## Jackdaw

tubes, bicycle / motorcycle handgrip, at least 6m of 20mm or smaller cord.

**Whipmaking II**  
Saturday June 20th  
10am-5pm. Cost: \$70.00.  
Wonder why a quality erotic whip costs?  
After a full day of practice, your questions will be answered and you'll have your own whip to use. You'll be crafting a weighted and balanced flogger with woven knots that would retail for over \$200.00.

In addition to the basic skills of the first session, more advanced leatherwork and balancing will be taught.

Additional tools: metal cone lid (from ship supply stores), light hammer, latex gloves. All other materials supplied by the instructor.

To attend this class you must take Whipmaking I or obtain the instructor's permission.

Classes are led by Island Whips of Seattle.

**Send to reader Bob Hughes, from a friend in Vancouver — obviously a far more interesting set of options at night classes than he has.**

## Dorktionary

**ALL THAT (ALL THAT) adj:** 1. used to encapsulate stuff. 2. Used to say something is cool. 3. Sort for "all that and a bag of chips".

**Buggerit ('bug'rit) adj:** 1. pissed off to hell. 2. The state of having no boogers.

**Cocked (k'ok'd) adj:** 1. describing anyone with bulging biceps and a six pack not consisting of beer. See *ruoy*. Usually seen in the saying "Don't go off half-cocked" which means, don't run around with bulgingiceps and three cans of Schlitz (in other words, always go off cocked).

**Cyber ('s-i-bred):** this is really a prefix that is put before any word that a person wants to make seem cool and "90's". It is made up of old farts to help them identify the "Gen-X". Of course we don't give a damn.

**Dang ('dang) exclm:** 1. damn with a cold 2. A suitable substitute for that age old phrase. 3. Male descriptor.

**Eshe (n she) pr:** 1. A pc way to say he or she but much prettier than s/he or any other crap.

**idihole (ide-hol) n:** cross between an idiot and an asshole.

**Information Superhighway (in-'for-ma-'shun-'sup-'er-'hi-way) n:** adj. adv. n. prep. r. made up word by the media (in association with Al Gore). They use it everytime they want to get the attention of all the wannabee techies and dorks, as well as weiners and those in the establishment. It seems to be this mystic place where anything and everything happens. The major connection to this mystic place (for the wannabee's and such) is a place called AOL.

**Life (li-f-i) n:** 1. something that mortal man wants to find the meaning of. 2. Mythical object just out of the reach of most computer geeks. We don't care what it means, just give us one DAMMIT! See female.

**MAD ISM ('mad'izm) n:** 1. a question when your mom looks pissed "You ain't mad, ism?"

**NRF (nerf-'n) n:** Nerds Revolution Front. Underground site dedicated to fellow computer geeks/nerds/dorks who need to satisfy their inner most desires for Computer relayed hyper links

**in Cyber-space.**

**Queue (q) n:** First in First Out (FIFO) structure. It seems that whichever one you want to move the fastest (in tie, the one you are in), is always the slowest. Well, at least until you move into another seemingly faster queue (which instantly turns into the slowest queue as you enter it).

**Slogbutter (sleg 'b-t-'r)n:** something that is incredulous simply because it doesn't occur (I can't believe it's not a slugbutter!) Usually associated with Microsoft.

**User Friendly ('yu-'z-'fr-i-ndl) adj:** n: something that is too simplistic for experts and too complicated for novices. Since most people fall in the middle of that (bell curve and stuff), those two extreme groups are just screwed.

**Virgin ('ve-'n) adj:** n: one who has never been screwed by a hard disk.

**A selection of words from the Dorktionary, an essential must for wannabee geeks/dorks/weiners or undercover agents wanting to infiltrate the world of hackers. Online http://www.islandnet.com/cikloer.**

## Title cost

**Earldom of Arran:** sold for \$366,277 to a buyer from Switzerland in 1985.

**Barony of Finavon:** sold for \$182,325 to a buyer from the United States in 1986.

**Lordship of Sudford-upon-Avon:** sold for \$170,068 to a buyer from the United States in 1983.

**Barony of Hastings:** \$148,139 to a British buyer in 1986.



Rich pickings... Pictures

## Lordship of Henley-in-Arden

sold for \$138,371, to a buyer from the United States in 1980.

**Barony of Gilsland:** sold for \$122,062 to a Canadian buyer in 1993.

**Barony of Morpeth:** sold for \$97,674 to a Japanese buyer in 1986.

**The Sunday New York Times** reveals the figures for the 1990's aristocratic method of money spinning. The seven listed above were the most expensive.

## Black misery

MISERY is when you come back from the beach proud of your suntan and your pals don't even know you've got one.

Misery is when you start to help an old white lady across the street and she thinks you're trying to snatch her purse.

Misery is when you go to the department store before Christmas and find out that Santa is a white man.

Misery is when you first realise so many things had have black in them, like

black cats, black arts, blackball.

Misery is when you can see all the other kids in the dark but they claim they can't see you.

Misery is when your white teacher tells the class that all negroes can sing and you can't even carry a tune.

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Extracts from black misery by Langston Hughes, key feature in the 1986 Harlem Renaissance First published in 1969, the prediction of a black child addressing to the new integrated world of the 1960s. It was the last book he wrote before he died in 1969. After 25 years it is being re-issued on June 27 by Oxford University Press.

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**Emily Sheffield**

Handwritten signature or scribble at the bottom of the page, possibly "John Morris 1986".

John 11/50

Factories cut prices as high street confidence returns, page 12  
Shake-up for troubled Euro fund, page 12

Financial Editor: Alex Brummer  
Telephone: 0171-239-9610  
Fax: 0171-833-4456

# Finance Guardian

## Unprecedented step as British Energy directors attach caveats on future dividends

### Plans for nuclear sweeteners turn sour

Chris Barrie  
Business Correspondent

**G**OVERNMENT plans to sweeten the privatisation of the nuclear industry with a promise to investors of a £96 million dividend yesterday when the directors of British Energy immediately warned that future pay-outs may have to be cut.

In an unprecedented step for state sell-offs, the directors of British Energy have attached six substantial warnings to their prospectus that future dividends would rise.

Contained in the pathfinder prospectus published yesterday, the warnings heightened controversy over British Energy's inability to fund dividends from profits.

Launching the prospectus, energy and industry minister Tim Eggar admitted that the dividend policy, seen by large investors as crucial to the success of next month's flotation, was the result of "prolonged creative tension" between British Energy and the Government.

One City analyst immediately predicted that the dividend forecast was unsustainable and suggested it had been made to boost sales proceeds to the Government.

He said: "The statement assumes all the upsides arrive and none of the downsides. It is extraordinary for a new company. There will be a dividend cut, and the warning looks a lengthy justification against future legal action."

by £1.96 billion to £5.23 billion. Nuclear liabilities, estimated at \$14 billion in the prospectus, were condemned as far too low by Dr Patrick Green, senior energy campaigner at Friends of the Earth. Citing recent research published in the Guardian, Dr Green said privatisation "represents a massive gift from the taxpayer to the private sector."

Written by Mike Sadolicki, a leading nuclear economist, the research suggested that British Energy had been exempted from paying \$6.3 billion worth of AGR liabilities. The research was visited by Gordon McKerron of Sussex University, official adviser to the trade and industry committee of MPs.

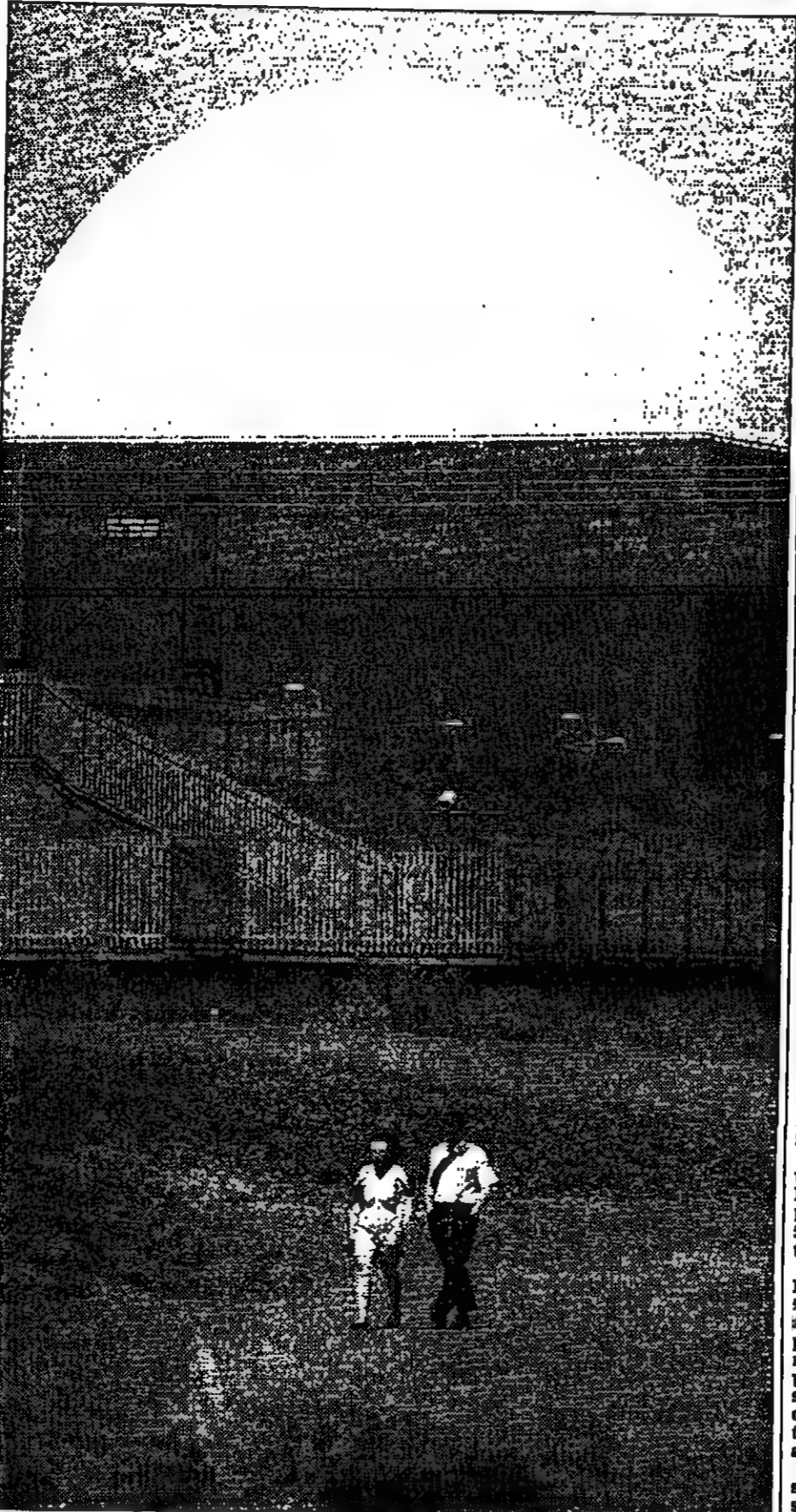
Mr Eggar angrily dismissed the research as "absolute garbage". He said it had been "put forward by a couple of academics who appear not to understand the situation, or who appear to want to misconstrue it."

Labour warned that it would look at tightening the regulatory framework in which British Energy operates. In the light of "subsidies" given to sweeten the sell-off.

In a further warning to investors, British Energy directors stressed that the company was highly geared financially and operationally. Finance director Mike Kirwan said a 0.1p or 0.9 per cent fall in the unit price of electricity would cost the group \$61-million of profits. A 1.6 per cent drop in output would cut profits by £20 million.

Responding to fears that wholesale electricity prices may plunge, chief executive Dr Robert Hawley admitted when it was all over, an adviser whispered to a colleague, "Not too many heart attacks there, then." Their relief was obvious.

However, Hoare Govett, British Energy's own broker, is believed to be forecasting a drop of 8 per cent and some analysts believe a much sharper fall is likely.



Shadow over sell-off... Sizewell B pressurised water reactor: controversy heightened over British Energy's inability to fund dividends from profits. PHOTOGRAPH BY SIMON HADLEY

### Board set to gain paper profit

Chris Barrie

**T**WO directors of British Energy received large pay rises last year and the board will be in line for lucrative share options and bonuses once the group is in the private sector.

According to accounts published yesterday, Robert Hawley, BE group chief executive, was paid £284,000 in salary, bonuses, benefits and pension contributions in his last year at Nuclear Electric, the state-owned company that ran nuclear power stations in England and Wales. That represented an increase of nearly 33 per cent on 1995 levels. Dr Hawley's basic salary of £190,000 was boosted by a bonus of £94,000.

The details were omitted from the pathfinder prospectus for British Energy but included in annual accounts reported separately yesterday by the state firm, since renamed Magnox Electric.

The accounts also show BE finance director Mike Kirwan's total pay and pension contributions increased by 26 per cent to £227,000. Mr Kirwan's basic pay of £150,000 was supplemented by a bonus of £77,000.

According to the prospectus, deputy chairman Robin Jeffrey will see his pay rise by 37 per cent to £157,000 after privatisation.

The prospectus lists Dr Hawley's basic pay at BE as £207,000 and Mr Kirwan's at £152,495. The BE board's pay will be boosted by a bonus scheme related to company performance, and a share-option scheme that could enhance remuneration by up to four times salary.

### Notebook

## Nothing here to radiate allure



Edited by Alex Brummer

**T**HE British Energy pathfinder prospectus is by a long distance the most contentious offer made by a British government since Mrs Thatcher launched privatisation with the sale of BT in 1984.

Broadly speaking, the privatisations have worked, delivering better and increasingly cheaper services to the consumer, even if the purity of the enterprise has been spilt by over-generous benefits to shareholders, the greed of utility bosses and supreme regulation.

Even the most disputed of sell-offs, such as that of Railtrack, have had redeeming features for shareholders and customers, including a steady income stream, possible property bonuses, the prospect of bringing down costs, and improved services. In the case of British Energy, however, hard one searches, it is hard to find redeeming features.

The Government proudly notes that more than 750,000 potential investors have registered to buy shares. They should be aware of what they are getting into. Even the proposed bribe to shareholders, the £96 million dividend (a gross yield of more than 15 per cent on the partly paid shares of 100p), has to be treated with caution.

In that it is a dividend funded from capital rather than earnings, it is based upon unsound financial practice. Second, it is — as the prospectus makes clear — dependent on the "absence of unforeseen circumstances", of which there are more than enough (including unexpected safety shutdowns) in the nuclear industry. Third, the final dividend payment will not come until July 1997, which would give a Labour energy secretary ample time to alter the conditions.

As important as the dividend trap is the requirement that shareholders take so much on trust. Usually it is only in the case of start-up companies like Orange that shareholders are expected to invest without sighting a profits record. In the case of British Energy, even after the figures have been sanitised to exclude the outdated Magnox reactors and reduce financing costs, the company will make pre-tax losses. In 1998 the losses will total £77 million (excluding the restructuring bill of £2.5 billion), against the £68 million for 1995.

Indeed, there is nothing in the profits record to make British Energy remotely attractive. The company does propose to encourage investors by extending the life of its plants, thereby presenting the prospect of profits stretching further into the future, with accompanying dividends. As the prospectus makes clear,

however, the technical studies involved in such a strategy are barely under way.

Moreover — as Simon Beavis and Paul Brown have reported in the Guardian — driving the advanced gas-cooled reactors at full tilt can have serious safety consequences. It is also interesting to note that the most up-to-date pressurised water reactor, at Sizewell B, will be shut down this month for statutory inspection.

Much has been made of the endowment to British Energy of a relatively debt-free balance sheet as a result of government largesse. There is, however, no possibility in the near future of financing a new generation of nuclear plants, and given the general overcapacity in UK power generation, this, like the whole British Energy offer, looks like a giveaway too far.

### Curious George

**T**HE annual meeting of the Bank for International Settlements should not be the most onerous chore in a central banker's diary. A trip to Basle, the morning meeting, a pleasant lunch and then home.

For Eddie George, Governor of the Bank of England, however, the trip must be becoming something of a burden. For two years in a row in Basle Mr George has had to run the gauntlet of reporters' questions about the conduct of UK monetary policy. In May 1995, Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor, declined to raise interest rates, despite the Bank's urgings. This year — just ahead of the BIS meeting — Mr Clarke cut interest rates, amid speculation that, once again, he and the Governor were at variance.

It is not Mr George's composure which suffers in Basle. The Governor is more than capable of dealing with impertunate journalists. It is the reminder that increasingly among the central bankers, at least from the industrialised world, Mr George is one of a shrinking band of those whose role is that of policy adviser, not policy-maker.

He should take heart from a line in the BIS annual report this time round. In spite of a changing world, says the BIS, economic policy prescriptions can have an impact, "assuming that policy-makers begin by recognising their limitations in an uncertain world, and focus more on avoiding particularly bad outcomes than on seeking impossibly good ones."

That sounds like good sense as well as modesty. But it may be a philosophy that harbours a risk. In much of the industrialised world, monetary policy is controlled by independent central banks. They may prefer the art of the eminent possible. The voters, who cannot call them to account, may not approve such a minimalist approach.

Mr George should take heart. Mr Clarke may not always take his advice but it is Mr Clarke who is accountable to the voters. However strong their views on government deficits, central bankers have no place addressing democratic deficits.

## Tarnished sale spares Government's blushes

### Energy sell-off

The full prospectus is published giving an indicative price range for the shares.

Registrants will receive their mini-prospectus in the week beginning July 1.

Offer of shares to the public closes at noon. First instalment must be paid on application for shares.

July 15: International offer to City institutions closes at 5pm.

July 16: Final share price is announced and trading in shares begins.

July 18: Interim dividend, expected to be around 4.6p is paid.

July 19: Final dividend, expected to be around 9.1p a share is paid.

Investors sign the company's statement of the price of their shares.

### Minister and advisers relieved to survive nuclear sell-off launch, writes Simon Beavis

**E**NERGY minister Tim Eggar chortled happily through yesterday's launch of the British Energy pathfinder prospectus and, when it was all over, an adviser whispered to a colleague, "Not too many heart attacks there, then." Their relief was obvious.

"Getting here has meant a great deal of work for everyone involved," said Mr Eggar, with no hint that this is the privatisation that ministers did not want to attempt before the general election.

But in May last year, his then boss, Michael Heseltine, turned the tables. With the Railtrack fleet looking nervous and unlikely to raise sufficient funds for pre-election tax cuts, the Government needed an alternative.

took fright at its clean-up costs, was back on the agenda and would be completed in just over a year. He decided to sell off the eight most modern reactors and hive off the ageing Magnox reactors into a new state-owned company, British Energy is a company which has only just come into existence to act as a holding company for the reactors.

The company's antecedents — Nuclear Electric and Scottish Nuclear — have a track record of heavy loss-making and its privatisation is sustained only by a pledge to pay a £96 million dividend sweetener to shareholders in the first year, even though this is not covered by profits.

Even commitments to pay "progressive" dividends in future were yesterday enmeshed in a tangled web of strings attached.

professionals can agree on what the value should be. Ministers will need to convince the National Audit Office that the Government has got the best price for the industry but City estimates of the price tag on British Energy, when shares start trading in mid-July, range from £700 million to £2.8 billion.

Even the Government's own advisers, BZW, have been forced to tone down over-optimistic valuations which fitted Government thinking but which made the company itself blush.

Importantly, none of the valuations comes in above the £2.9 billion cap set by the building British Energy's newest power station, Sizewell B.

The BZW rethink — in part motivated by revelations that nearly all the reactors on sale have suffered operational failures in recent months — is just one of a series of tortuous manoeuvres carried out to pull off the sale. One seasoned City onlooker admitted yesterday the sell-off had

been an education. "It has shown that no amount of shame has been too much," he said.

Mr Eggar was personally embarrassed in March when he was forced to admit that he had been considering plans to abandon the flotation and sell British Energy to the US utility, Duke Power, only to find the American company beating a hasty retreat saying it had not really been that interested.

Since then, the Government has agreed to write down British Energy's assets by £2 billion, to revalue its liabilities from £7.6 billion to £2.7 billion. It has also pledged to pay for the clean-up of reactors staying in state hands.

The City is convinced that British Energy's immediate largesse to shareholders will be short-lived, making this sell-off a short-term punt. Although the issue will be priced to go, few think it will add any lustre to the already tarnished name of privatisation.

## ING plans \$10m poaching suit

### Deutsche under fire for luring staff with six-figure salaries

**T**HE row over the poaching of top City staff intensified yesterday, when ING Barings confirmed it was launching a \$10 million-plus (£6.7 million) legal action against Deutsche Morgan Grenfell, which last week recruited a 45-strong team from ING.

ING, which last year saved Barings from collapse after rogue trader Nick Leeson's reckless deals, has lodged a compensation claim in New York's Supreme Court. The claim is understood to accuse

Deutsche of damaging ING's business, breach of contract, unfair competition and the misuse of confidential information.

ING's action comes just five days after Deutsche signed up its entire team of Latin American securities analysts, mainly based in Mexico, Chile and Brazil, reportedly luring them with six-figure salaries.

In addition, in a break with normal City practice, Deutsche is thought to have guaranteed the recruits bonus payments over a number of years.

The move provoked fury from Hessel Lindenburgh, chief executive of ING Barings, who attacked what he called the "outrageous" amounts being offered by Deutsche.

But in a statement issued last night, Deutsche defended its actions robustly, insisting it had done nothing wrong.

It said: "The ING Barings case is totally without merit, and we shall defend our actions vigorously."

Since its £850 million acquisition of Morgan Grenfell in 1998, Deutsche Bank has become known for its aggressive recruitment policy, both in the City and on Wall Street. Over the last two years, it has infuriated rivals such as Merrill Lynch, SEC Warburg and Morgan Stanley by recruiting over 250 staff from them, substantially increasing its muscle in a number of world markets, and forcing rivals to award hefty pay rises to keep staff.

However, one insider at ING Barings in London last night privately expressed scepticism at the outcome of the case, and said he doubted whether the ING's claim would be successful.



## Credit companies in frontline of fight against cybershopping fraud

Sarah Pyle

**CYBERSHOPPING**, the art of spending money anywhere in the world from the comfort of your own home, has sparked demands for rules to protect the newly global consumer from unscrupulous traders.

Safeguarding the rights of customers currently vulnerable to fraud, delivery problems or just sub-standard goods was the issue on the agenda yesterday at a London meeting of representatives from the 27-nation Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, credit card companies and the British Office of Fair Trading.

The OECD called on credit companies to work on behalf of consumers to ensure

redress if shopping on the Internet failed to satisfy, and warned that the potential of cybershopping, predicted to reach £7.45 billion in Britain alone by 2000, would be damaged otherwise.

John Bridgeman, the Director General of Fair Trading, said seeking redress from a retailer in another country would be daunting because of language and legal differences for individuals.

But, he said: "The payment card networks do have a global reach, indeed it is one of the proudest boasts in advertising the product."

He warned that the full potential of cybershopping expected to benefit even the smallest retailer, would not be realised unless consumers had complete confidence in the global marketplace.

## Barings chief denies lying and taking part in cover-up

Patrick Donovan  
City Editor

**T**HE former Chief Executive of Barings Bank, Peter Norris, who was due to receive a £1 million personal bonus just weeks after the bank collapsed, admitted yesterday that the astounding profitability of Nick Leeson's trading operations had made directors "less critical than they should be".

Mr Norris told an all-party Treasury Select Committee that he "acknowledged unreservedly my share of the responsibility" for the circumstances in which the bank was last year brought down with losses of £960 million.

But he repeatedly denied allegations that he had any prior knowledge of the unauthorised trades being built up by Mr Leeson or that he had in any way approved of the

dealings in order to boost his own income. Labour MP Diane Abbott said: "Part of what blinded you to your management responsibilities was greed."

Mr Norris rejected all findings of an investigation by the Singapore government in which he had been accused of misleading inspectors. Saying he was an "honest" man, he repeatedly refuted hostile questioning by Tory MP Quentin Davies, who pointed out that the Singapore report had found him to have been "engulfed in a cover-up and telling a whole tissue of lies".

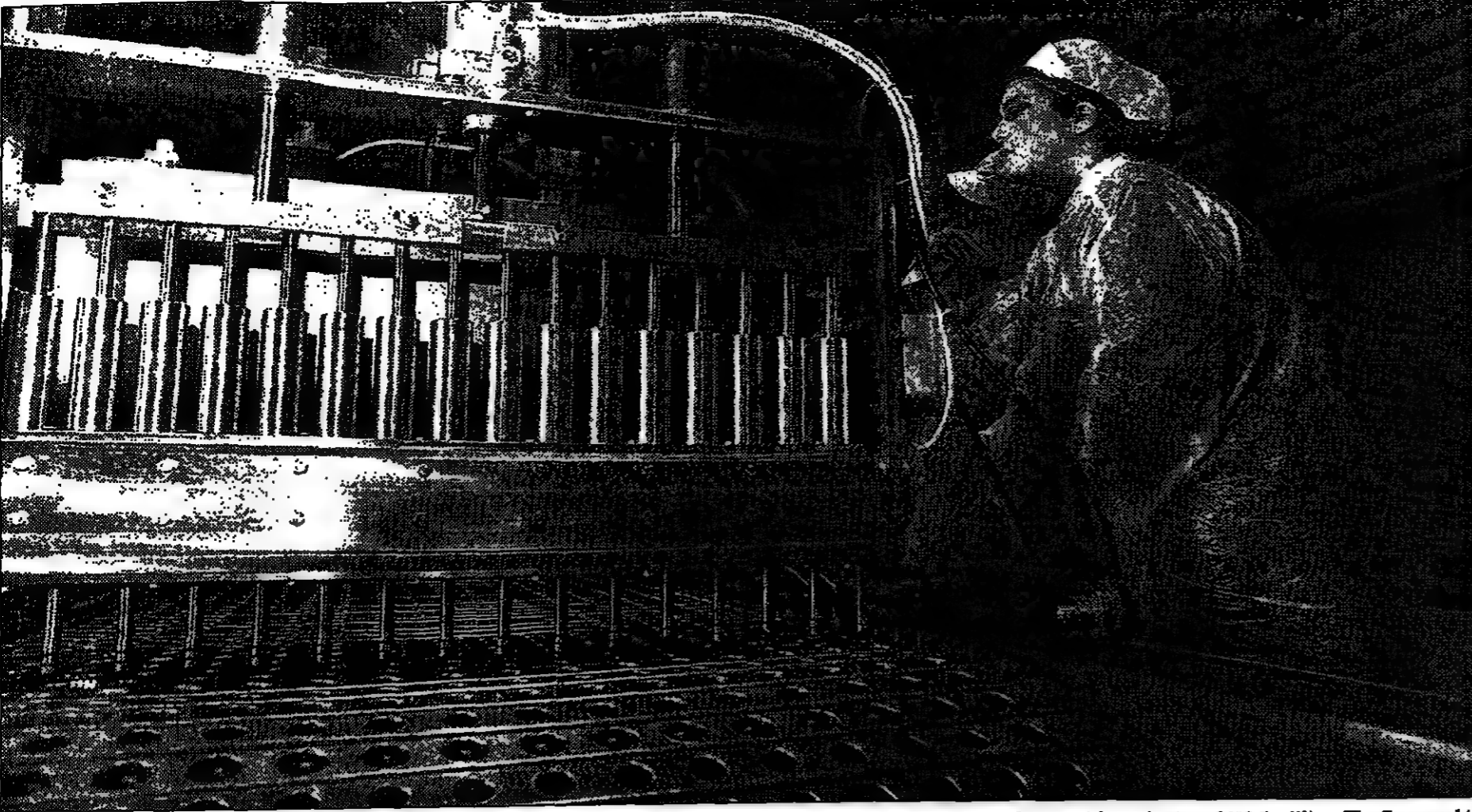
Mr Norris said this version of events was not backed up by separate investigations by the Bank of England and the Securities and Futures Authority.

But Mr Davies said the Singapore findings had been "absolutely damning to your own reputation".

### TOURIST RATES - BANK SELLS

Australia 1.86	France 7.7350	Italy 2.340	Singapore 2.11
Austria 16.11	Germany 2.2800	Malta 0.5480	South Africa 6.59
Belgium 47.03	Greece 364.00	Netherlands 2.5560	Spain 193.00
Canada 2.0420	India 53.65	New Zealand 2.2280	Sweden 10.22
Cyprus 0.7050	Ireland 0.9475	Norway 9.84	Switzerland 1.280
Denmark 8.88	Israel 5.03	Portugal 237.00	Turkey 117.00
Finland 7.18		Saudi Arabia 9.73	USA 1.5000

Supplied by NatWest Bank (excluding Indian rupee and Israeli sheqel).



Cool customers... Staff at Treats ice cream factory in Leeds enjoy the heatwave as the company is placed on the Stock Exchange with a price tag of £19.5 million. The firm used to make Wall's ice cream before being hived off from Unilever under a management buyout in 1991. Dealings in the shares, placed at 174p, begin on Thursday. PHOTOGRAPH: JUSTIN SLICE

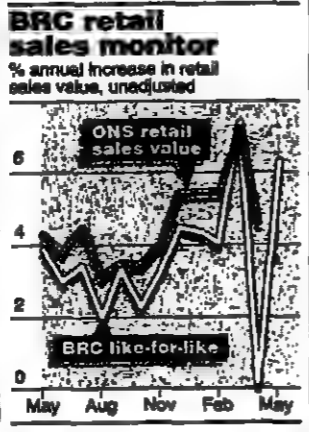
First drop in four years • Interest rate reduction vindicated • Consumer confidence surging back

# Manufacturers cut prices

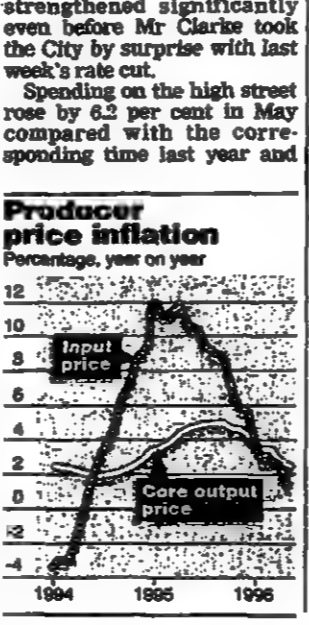
**LAST** week's surprise interest rate cut was supported by official figures yesterday showing dramatically reduced inflationary pressure in manufacturing in May. But the cut is likely to come under scrutiny again today following a survey of high street sales showing a strong rise in spending. Manufacturers struggling to shift unsold stocks cut factory gate prices in May by 0.1 per cent, the first monthly drop since August 1992, according to the Office for National Statistics. As a result, the annual rate of output price growth fell to 2.9 per cent in May, from 3.2 per cent in April, the lowest rate of increase since December 1994. Core prices, which exclude

food, drink, tobacco and petrol, rose by 0.1 per cent, and 2 per cent over the year, down from 2.7 per cent previously. It was the lowest rate of core output inflation since October 1994. The fall in factory gate prices reflected a drop in input costs (raw materials and fuel) paid by manufacturers. The annual rate of increase dropped to 1.1 per cent from 2 per cent. Mr Clarke would not have seen the latest producer price figures until Thursday night, after he had implemented the cut in interest rates earlier that day, ONS officials said. City analysts said lower factory gate prices could feed through to the high street, with some suggesting that if retail price pressures also reduced, the Chancellor might cut rates again in the autumn, the party conference season.

"With a downward trend in underlying retail price inflation likely to be clearly established by late summer or early autumn, rates should fall by a further 0.25 percentage points at that time," said Adam Cole of HSBC James Capel.



Alex Gerrard, a UK economist at UBS, said: "The Chancellor continues to over-emphasise the importance of the manufacturing sector at the expense of growth in the service sector. For as long as he does so, monetary policy will be biased towards ease." The markets reacted positively to yesterday's producer price data. Traders dealing in interest rate futures scaled back their expectations for higher rates. December short sterling, a guide to expectations of rates at the end of the year, rose slightly, and although analysts said rates on prime three-month deposits were still expected to be higher in December than the 5.75 per cent base rate, they were now expected to be lower than a week ago. But the British Retail Consortium monthly survey showed that the retail sector



strengthened significantly even before Mr Clarke took the City by surprise with last week's rate cut. Spending on the high street rose by 0.2 per cent in May compared with the corresponding time last year and the increase was the second biggest on record. The average growth rate over the last three months was 4.1 per cent, and the May level was only bettered by the 7.5 per cent growth in March, believed to have been artificially boosted by Easter. According to the survey, furniture and carpet sales continued on an upward trend thanks to the improving housing market. DIY stores with gardening sections had an excellent month. Despite being one of the coldest months of May on record, retail sales maintained their recent encouraging growth and appear to be benefiting from some increase in consumer confidence, said the consortium's economic affairs committee chairman, Andrew Higginson. He welcomed last week's interest rate cut as "a further step in the right direction".

## BA to unveil deal with US airline

**BRITISH** Airways and American Airlines are expected today to announce plans to establish a wide-ranging booking and marketing alliance which has already provoked threats of "open war" from their rivals. The move is likely to fall foul of regulatory scrutiny, as competitors line up against what would be the most powerful inter-carrier alliance in the world. Both companies dominate the transatlantic market, with two-thirds of traffic between Britain and the US. The alliance would join the worldwide reach of BA, the biggest international carrier, with American's unparalleled route network in the US and Latin America. The news, which leaked out in the US yesterday, was received with caution by analysts. Both carriers have been discussing the plan for a year, but regulators in the US and Britain could force them to give up so many routes that final agreement would be impossible. BA refused to comment about the talks, but Hans Mirka, senior vice-president of American's international division, said that if American and BA tried to link operations, winning the approval of both governments could be a lengthy process. Virgin Atlantic Airways, the No 3 carrier between the US and Britain, threatened "open warfare" against the alliance. Delta Airlines, which BA is also talking, said it would oppose the alliance unless Britain and the US signed an "open skies" agreement giving greater access to coveted slots at Heathrow — the most important airport in the world for international connections. US negotiators say any "open skies" agreement would have to include greater access for its carriers because BA controls 40 per cent of the slots. Talks between the British and American governments are still bogged down. The success of the venture rests on the ability of BA and American to obtain immunity from US anti-trust laws so they can pool information on prices. Keith McMullan, director of Avmark International, an aviation consulting firm in London, said BA and American have been in talks about forming a joint venture which could ultimately be used to pool the assets of their North Atlantic divisions. One of the crucial factors in the debate is the impact such a move would have on USAir, another American carrier, which BA has a 24.8 per cent share. Mr McMullan said this would not be affected, but if it went ahead, the tie-up could "exert some control over prices and capacity on the North Atlantic."

## Shares in Bank of Scotland slide

**SHARES** in Bank of Scotland fell 7 per cent yesterday after Standard Life Assurance ended months of speculation about a takeover of Scotland's premier bank by announcing that it would sell "a substantial part" of its 32.2 per cent stake in the bank to a range of investors. Since Standard Life, the UK's largest mutual life insurer, said last month that it wanted to reduce or sell its stake, in order to diversify into other investments, the City has been anticipating a bid for the bank should the entire holding be sold to a single buyer. News that the sale would be a widely marketed secondary offering sent shares in the 300-year-old institution down by 21.5p to 243p on one stage, wiping £219 million off its market value. The shares recovered to 247p, valuing Standard's stake at £270 million, down £78 million on the day. A banking analyst suggested that one reason Standard had decided to sell its stake was fear that a Labour government windfall tax on bank profits would substantially reduce the value of the insurer's holding. Standard Life said it made its decision after a four-week review. It had grown concerned that the investment, which amounts to 8 per cent of the group's UK equity portfolio, was too large for a single sale, although it has increased its stake in value since it was bought from Barclays Bank for £155 million in 1985. A joint statement said Bank of Scotland would assist Standard Life in carrying out a secondary offering. Bank of Scotland governor Sir Bruce Pattullo, who resigned from Standard's board on the original announcement, said: "Naturally, we are sad that Standard Life has decided to reduce its stake."

## News in brief

**Rebel Names call special meeting**  
REBEL Names at Lloyd's of London have called an extraordinary general meeting to demand significant improvements to the market's proposed £3.1 billion compensation deal, which is due to be finalised in the next few weeks. The firm will take place immediately after the annual meeting on July 17. The Names are demanding more money and a 3 per cent levy on the profits of the ongoing Lloyd's market for the next 15 years. Lloyd's is increasingly confident, however, that most Names favour its proposals. A Lloyd's spokesman said: "We do not believe it is possible to make any further major alterations to the plan." — Pauline Springett

**Price wars wound Salvesen**  
THE UK supermarket wars have helped trim Christian Salvesen's profits from £77.7 million to £76.6 million in the year to March. Its logistics division, which delivers for Sainsbury among other food groups, saw operating profits cut by £1.6 million to £43.4 million. But the group has diversified, and its Aggreko temperature and power control division raised its operating profit by 19.5 per cent to £20.7 million. The volume of processing business at the group's food services division fell 12 per cent in the summer drought and profits slipped by £1.5 million to £8.6 million. — Tony May

**N&P members favour cash**  
NATIONAL and Provincial Building Society members have voted overwhelmingly in favour of a cash rather than a share windfall when their society is taken over by the Abbey National in August. Nearly 80 per cent of the 850,000 long-term investors opted for cash. Some 35 per cent of the £1.35 billion Abbey is paying for N&P will be distributed to members in shares. — Teresa Hunter

**Berisford prospects mixed**  
BERISFORD said second-half prospects for its two core businesses, Weblit food services and Magnet building products, were mixed. After announcing a 7 per cent rise in profit to £13.9 million for the half-year, the company's chairman, John Schlater, said that in Britain the building products market remained depressed while there were tentative signs of an increase in domestic kitchen sales. — Tony May

**Housing recovery patchy**  
THE recovery in the housing market remained patchy last year, with London accounting for one in seven transactions, according to the Land Registry, which yesterday published its first annual report on property prices. After London, Hampshire and the West Midlands recorded most sales, followed by Essex, Kent and Lancashire. Surrey was the most expensive area, with an average home costing £113,368, against the London average of £96,028. Cheapest areas included South Yorkshire, with a £47,681 average, and Humberdale, £45,000. — Teresa Hunter

## Low inflation is not enough, say international bankers

**MARK MILNER** reports from Basle on how people in the industrialised world are affected by job insecurity. LOW inflation, the prospect of at least moderate economic growth has failed to generate a "feel good" factor in the industrialised world because of continuing job insecurity, according to the Bank for International Settlements in its annual report, out yesterday. The BIS warns that a combination of competition from emerging economies, technological changes, a lower cost of

capital and efforts to cut government deficits "are now interacting powerfully in ways that, although sure to create wealth over time, may threaten job security in the near term." Two of the key issues which need to be addressed quickly by the industrialised world — fiscal deficits and labour market rigidities — will add to deflationary pressures, according to the Basle-based bank. But while the BIS argues that greater labour market flexibility is necessary in Europe — not least to offset the hardening of exchange rates within the European Union — it acknowledges that such flexibility is not an answer in itself to worries about job security. It cites the example of the US: "In spite of a long history of market liberalisation and record profit levels (in the US) in 1995, corporate announcements of takeovers, mergers and lay-offs continue unabated. Andrew Crockett, BIS general manager, was diplomatic yesterday when asked about the recent cut

vailing atmosphere of job insecurity may well have contributed to the recent weakness of both wage demands and consumer spending." Though the bank is clearly pleased by the containment of inflationary pressures, it warns against complacency. In Europe, for example, "if the rate of structural unemployment does not decline, with associated dangers of social unrest, pressures could arise for an inflationary solution." As to the US: "The Federal Reserve has shown itself ready in recent years to take pre-emptive action to prevent inflationary risks becoming manifest." Though the world's financial system was able to absorb the shocks of the Mexican crisis, the collapse of Barings and the trading losses at Daiwa, the BIS believes that banking systems

## Foods bring home the bacon at Unigate

**Outlook/Heavy restructuring leaves group cash rich and refocused, writes Pauline Springett**  
THE restructuring is almost complete and the hunt is on for the next round of acquisitions. The City yesterday gave Unigate credit for a set of results which were broadly in line with expectations, and a strategy that is starting to look properly focused. Unigate has reorganised itself into two core divisions: foods and distribution. To achieve this it has sold off businesses outside these core areas, many of which were underperforming anyway. In the past year, Unigate's main disposal was of its 29 per cent stake in Dutch foods group Nutricia. It had owned the stake since 1981 but had lately decided it could probably make more money, and have more control, by investing elsewhere. The Nutricia sale earned a profit of £212.3 million. During the year, Unigate also sold its Giltspur exhibitions business, for a profit of £15 million. More recently, it has also found a buyer for the US Black-eyed Pea restaurant chain. That is expected to make a loss on sale of nearly

ham and pork processing company. Mr Buckland is clearly very proud of Malton, which now generates more sales than Unigate's traditional business of selling liquid milk. Malton's sales are currently running at £350 million a year, compared to £180 million three years ago. Unigate has recently spent another £51 million on three small add-on acquisitions to Malton, and the division shows no sign of stopping. One of Malton's more recent successes is exporting

**Unigate**

Stock market value: £973m

Share price: 417p ▲ 8p

Workforce: 31,000

Interest cover: 15.2

	£	% change
Sales	2,134m	+12.7
Pre-tax profit	220m	+41.2
Earnings per share	112.2p	+47.2
Dividend	15.2p	+5.5

Turnover 1995

Division	Percentage
US Restaurants	0.7%
Logistics	18.5%
Restaurants	22.2%
Fresh foods	52.3%

Main activity: Foods and distribution. Supplies milk via shops and doorstep deliveries. Foods includes chilled St Ivel range plus Malton pork products.

## Kleinwort shake-up for troubled Euro fund

**ION KING**  
KLEINWORT Benson yesterday announced a long-awaited shake-up of its troubled European Privatisation Trust (Keptl), the £500 million fund it launched in a blaze of publicity two years ago. Kleinwort, which was attacked by furious investors at Keptl's annual meeting in January, said the proposals were intended to narrow the substantial discount to net asset value at which the fund's shares trade. Under the plan, Kleinwort will replace 60 per cent of the fund's existing shares with convertible loan stock, aimed at addressing what it called the "oversupply" of shares in the market. Keptl was one of two funds launched in 1994 aimed at cashing in on the European privatisations. The other was launched by Mercury, and together they raised more than £1 billion and attracted more than 100,000 small investors. However, following poor performance from many European privatisation stocks, the two funds have traded at significant discounts to net asset value. Yesterday's news sent Keptl shares up 1p to 92p, against the net asset value of 108p.

The Guardian  
Rugby Union  
Unilate  
set the

Derby betting  
takes a dive

102

Rugby Union

Unilateral England set the TV agenda

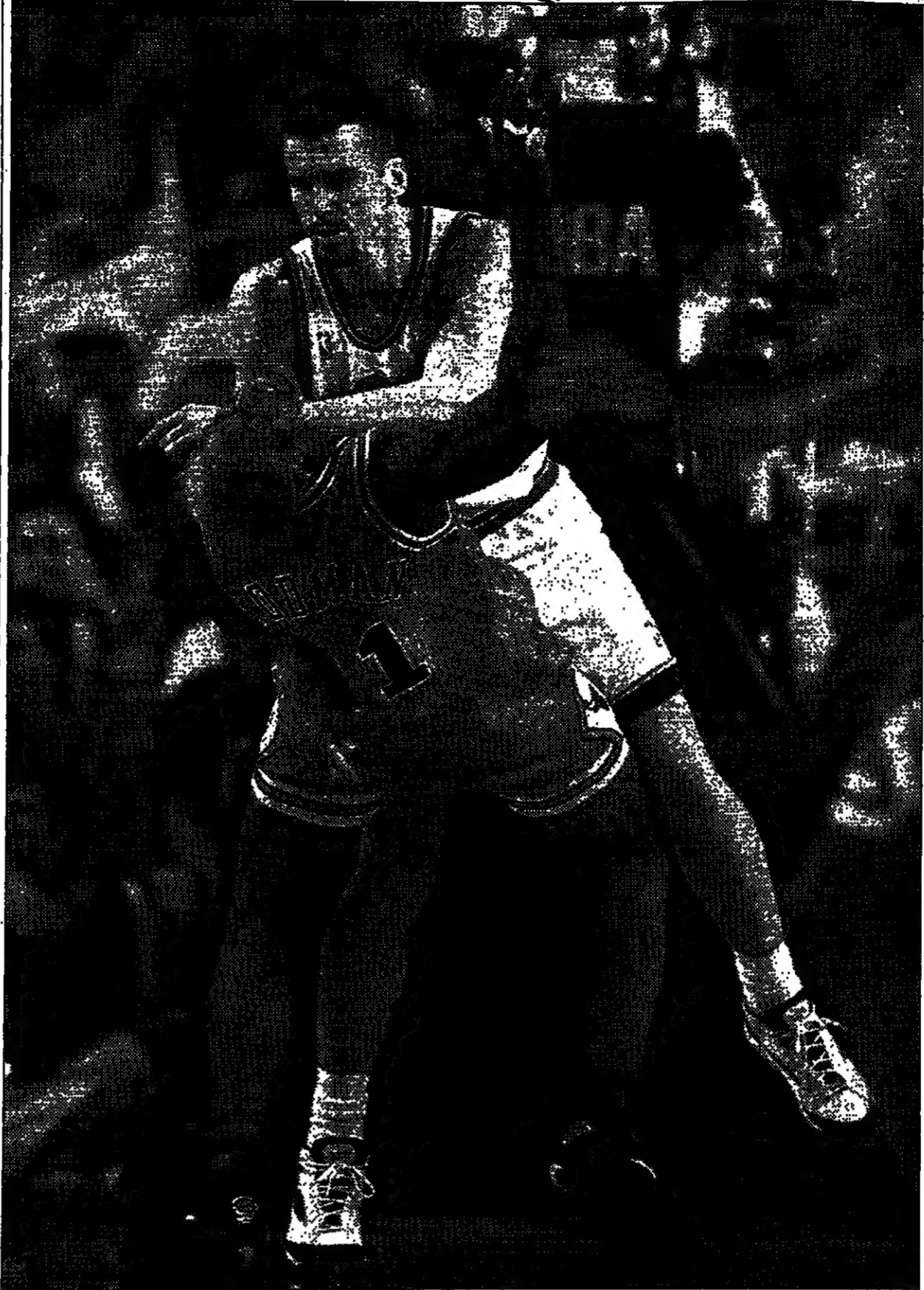
ENGLAND'S home-ownership rivals may be forced to sign their own separate deals with BSkyB after Twickenham's announcement yesterday that they would go it alone with a five-year deal with the satellite company worth £27.5 million...



It is with great regret that one finds England acting in this way - Vernon Pugh, Welsh RU and IB chairman

He asked to make alternative arrangements for season 1997-98... it will have inevitable consequences for the format of the Five Nations Championship...

David Elstein, BSkyB's head of programming, said: "We have made an offer to the other unions and they can sell the rights of their home matches. The offers we have made are proportionate. The other unions have a tremendous asset to sell; they should now pick up the baton..."



THE Chicago Bulls are one win away from another NBA championship after soundly beating the Seattle SuperSonics again on Sunday night, 108-85.

who finished with 36 points, 27 of them in the first half. The Australian centre Luke Longley (19 points) shone in the supporting cast. And Dennis "The Worm" Rodman made a characteristic contribu-

tion, corralling 10 rebounds and Bull-baiting a couple of the Sonics. In the last quarter he provoked Frank Brickowski into laying a forearm across his windpipe (above), for which the Son-

ics power forward was ejected from the game. It was the first time the Sonics had lost three successive games all season. No team has ever recovered from a 3-0 deficit to win the championship.

Rugby League

Larder turns to teenager

PAUL SCULTHORPE, the 18-year-old Warrington winger, looks poised to make his England debut in the European Championship game with France at Gateshead tomorrow. England's coach Phil Larder intended to name his side yesterday but was forced to delay it until the morning because of a lengthy injury list...

Racing

Derby betting takes a dive

The debate to decide which day the Derby should be run will continue until a decision is made next week, but all major bookmakers are now advocating a return to Wednesday and professional betting figures from the world's most famous flat race last Saturday declined by 10 per cent from the previous June...

Brian Meshaun's Warning Time, the joint top-weight, has an alternative engagement at Sandown on Saturday and an entry for the Jersey Stakes. If both colts defeated, Dashing Blue would head the handicap and the weights would rise by five...

Salisbury with form for the Jackpot races

Table listing race results for Salisbury, including race numbers, names of horses, and their finishing positions.

Redcar

Table listing race results for Redcar, including race numbers, names of horses, and their finishing positions.

RACELINE 0930 1684 SALISBURY 101 201 REDCAR 102 202

NOTTINGHAM Results 2.30 (1m 20s) SPA LAKE, R. Hurdle (13-2), 7-2 fav Albano, 19 run, 2 sh hd, 1 sh...

POWERTYACK Results 2.45 (1m 20s) CLASS DISTINGUISH, R. Portland (10-1), 1-2 fav Albano, 19 run, 2 sh hd, 1 sh...

EURO 96

Group B: Romania 0, France 1

France select cruise control

Mike Walker at St James' Park

THE unbroken run of games that has seen France emerge as one of the most powerful forces in Europe was extended to 24 last night.

A 62nd-minute goal from Christophe Dugarry, his 12th for his country, was enough to take France past the team they feared most in this group: the Romanians.

They featured no English-based players although that is hardly an indication of any poverty of talent. Instead they began with six men who will perform in Serie A, that is if Zidane's transfer to Juventus definitely goes through.

Such cosmopolitanism failed to faze the Romanians, who had only two players from their domestic league. In the first five minutes alone they had three shots, from Hagi, Munteanu and Lacatus, the latter being one of the two Steaua Bucharest players on the pitch.

Lacatus is a familiar name. Familiarity with a name, however, does not mean his movements can be predicted and he was scythed down three times in the opening quarter of an hour.

Amazingly, considering the refereeing so far in this tournament, no Frenchman was booked but in the 30th minute, when Di Meco upended Lacatus once more, the yellow card was finally shown.

At this point the much talked-about French attack, the one that could do without Cantona and Ginola, had not been seen. It was all to change rapidly as the Romanian keeper, only had to deal with a back-header from Petrescu, but in the 22nd minute Djorkaeff latched on to a Deschamps nod forward, swelled and hit a volley that had Stelusa at full stretch.

Encouraged, the French took the lead seconds later. This time Djorkaeff was the provider, slinging in a hopeful cross that Dugarry, under pressure from two defenders, did well to get to.

However, his far from brilliant header would not have caused Stelusa any problems. This time Djorkaeff was the provider, slinging in a hopeful cross that Dugarry, under pressure from two defenders, did well to get to.



Playmaker's piledriver... France's pivotal midfielder Zidane gets off a shot past the Romanian sweeper Belodedici

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL STEELE

and the ball bounced slowly into an empty net. France settled at once and with Deschamps orchestrating affairs from the centre, they began to develop cohesive teamwork to add to their impressive individual skills.

Hagi countered with shots either side of Lama's posts although Deschamps almost extended France's lead shortly before the break with a volley that screamed inches wide.

Probably concerned at how the Romanian influence had waned, their manager Anghel Iortianescu took off the ineffective Raducioiu at half-time for Moldovan and then, somewhat surprisingly, replaced Lacatus with Iles. It did little to interrupt the French momentum though, and had Karembu made any sort of connection with Guerin's cross

they would have been two ahead. Following that, only excellent defending by Popescu and Lupescu prevented openings created by Djorkaeff and Zidane being converted into goals.

Try as he might, Hagi just could not lift those around him and when he did manage to put Moldovan in via a typical dagger pass, Blanc got a decisive foot in. Even a fierce Hagi free-kick was comfortably claimed by Lama.

Perhaps sensing they needed a second goal to kill the game off, the French withdrew Dugarry and brought on their league's leading scorer Loko. It almost worked immediately as Loko ran at Mihail, left him on the floor, but then rather than pass to Djorkaeff he chose to shoot. It was the wrong choice.

Collins causes handball row

Patrick Glenn on the Dutch storm that overshadowed the midfielder's display

ANYBODY who doubted the wisdom of AS Monaco's decision to invest \$3 million in John Collins last month should have seen his performance at Villa Park yesterday. The little midfielder is already regarded by the Scotland manager Craig Brown as "the best professional anybody could work with" and his fitness and readiness to compete were evident from the earliest moments.

Blessed with what modern coaches call "a great engine", Collins also possesses what an earlier generation called "an educated left foot". He uses it both to pass accurately and take the ball from opponents.

There is little doubt that his mastery of the impeccable timed challenge helped Scotland through the opening 15 minutes yesterday, when the Dutch threatened to blow them away.

He had made an equally telling contribution after seven minutes, when he knocked a shot off the line with his left arm. The transgression went unnoticed, much to the chagrin of Holland's manager Gus Hiddink. "It was definitely handball and even Collins admitted it," he said. "But the referee was standing in a very bad position. At international level you have to see things like that. It was a big and bad mistake."

The Chelsea striker John Spencer was unimpressed with the Dutch blearing. "If they say they deserved to win, it's up to them," he said. "They can moan and bitch all they want, but at the end of the day they've got a point and we've got a point."

Three days before this match, on the strength of Holland's victory over the Republic of Ireland, they were supposed to be the best team in the world. The press in England were saying this was the way the English game should go, that it's the game of the future. Well we've got a draw against them and they can moan all night if they like.

The controversy should not detract from Collins's contribution. He was still taking the ball from opponents and spraying it around when the referee blew the final whistle. It was not for nothing that he was hugged like a returning son by Brown at the finish.

As for the manager himself, he should perhaps buy a crystal ball and spend his summers at the end of a pier. His prediction that Group A would be "more open than most people imagine" is becoming more chillingly accurate with each game.

He had also said that his players had fitness, resolve and resilience on their side, and that is exactly what transpired. The Scots exploited their strength, which is durability, and deserved to take the point.

There may have been an element of luck, but I would prefer to put it down to good defending and organisation. I'm convinced we will improve because of the confidence we will take from this result.

"It's on to Wembley on Saturday now and we're very happy about that. I'm not claiming we'll beat England, but I'm convinced they will find it hard to beat us."

Brown also revealed that his decision to change the three-man defence to a flat back four had been taken the moment he heard the draw.

"Because the Dutch play two wingers, we had to do that. Our players were a little uneasy about it when I told them, because they're used to the 3-5-2 set-up. But they coped very well."

Supporters blame FA over empty seats

John Duncan

SUPPORTERS yesterday attacked the Football Association for their handling of ticket sales for Euro 96, which they say has led to the embarrassing empty spaces seen at Eiland Road and Old Trafford for the first-round games there.

"I would pinpoint the FA," said Debbie Ralls, the Football Supporters Association Manchester Euro 96 coordinator. "For the way they have sold and priced tickets. It is the FA Cup semifinals that all over again, with empty spaces for a big match because supporters have been priced out of it."

However the FA was quick to defend itself, pointing out that 90 per cent of tickets have been sold and that the total is increasing, with nine of the 27 remaining games sell-outs and four nearly sold out. "You have to see the prices in context," said John Wray, the FA spokesman in Leeds. "The British Grand Prix tickets range from \$57 entry to \$115 for the grandstand, or the England v New Zealand one-day match were \$22 to \$42. You have to look at the importance of the competition and the quality of play and if you do that I don't think the price is too high."

However the vast majority of the tickets unsold, including the 11,979 out of 35,000 for

Armchair fans swell ratings

NEARLY 10 million people watched ITV's coverage of England's faltering start to the Euro 96 campaign against Switzerland, writes Andrew Cook.

The network achieved a peak audience of 9.9 million (a 77 per cent share of all TV viewers) for the Wembley game. The average audience was 8.8 million, according to unofficial industry figures.

Channel 4's coverage of the Derby at Epsom took a hammering, with audience peaking at just 2.1 million.

The lure of Euro 96 for armchair fans was emphasised with unofficial figures for Sunday's matches. Spain v Bulgaria on ITV peaked at 5.7 million, while BBC1 scored a peak of 4.5 million for Germany v Czech Republic and 5.0 million for Denmark v Portugal.

Germany salutes its own

DIARY

The country's national sports daily, Sport, had much more fun writing about the English bobbles (bobbies). "The bobbie quite liked the fact that both the Czech and German fans were taking pictures of them - they even lent their strange helmets to fans posing for photos." Rather peculiarly, the paper concluded: "In this respect we beat the Germans, because the English policeman is more popular with Czechs than Germans."

There was pain in Spain where the press was unimpressed by the 1-1 draw with Bulgaria. "We suffered!" screamed as in a large red front-page headline, adding that "Spain was only saved on their debut by Alfonso's lucky goal". El Mundo called it "Spain without light".

El Pais reserved its poison pen for England. "Wembley was all pomp and circumstance, a reversed ground which did not deserve the game that England played against Switzerland. They are long with the ball and short on ideas. Gascoigne has lost himself in a sea of injuries, beer and lack of control. What we have now is a slow and overweight midfield player."

Scots take Dutch courage at Villa Park

Continued from back page

blocking Bergkamp's shot with his legs after McCall had thwarted De Kock. Scotland had managed to restore some parity even though Holland always looked the more likely to score.

Spencer gave Scotland an extra sharpness up front after replacing Booth at half-time, but neither he nor Durie seriously disturbed Reiziger. De Kock and Bogarde. Even so, the Scottish support filling the bulk of the Holte End had moments to cheer: as early as the 15th minute McAllister strode through a gap on to Boyd's return pass and might have scored had he opted more for power than accuracy in trying to place the ball.

Durie's only real chance arrived in the 63rd minute when Billy McKinlay, who had replaced Gallacher, found him unmarked to his left. Durie, however, miscued.

Scotland spent the rest of the match redoubling their efforts to save it, and Seedorf seemed determined to lend a hand. Having bounced a free header over the bar early in the second half, he saw Collins block his close-range shot with only four minutes to go. A courageous and intelligent performance by Scotland, then. England will need both qualities in abundance on Saturday.

EURO 96 DIARY

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In Sofia news of Bulgaria's draw overshadowed the latest government crisis and the bread and petrol shortages. Standart News even suggested that the Prime Minister had deliberately replaced four ministers on the eve of the game so that no one would notice. Trud produced the day's most downbeat intro - "The Bulgarians failed to avail themselves of the knockout and this resulted in a draw" - while 24 Chasa was more concerned with the supporters, printing a picture of a Bulgarian fan drinking beer in a pub with two Spaniards. The caption read: "Both groups of fans find the coffee and soup undrinkable in Leeds so they have no choice but to drink beer."

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Table with football fixtures and results for Group A, B, C, and D. Columns include team names, scores, and dates.

Table with football fixtures and results for Group E, F, G, and H. Columns include team names, scores, and dates.

Sacchi treads a tightrope

Ian Ross on a nation questioning its coach as Italy meet Russia today

IN A country boasting 56 million managers of its national team, it takes a brave or foolish man to pluck from the pack three acres and cast them to the winds without a hint of regret.

Italy open their Euro 96 campaign against Russia today and, as ever, the man in charge is walking a perilously thin line between dedication and vindication.

Erudite and thoughtful though he can be, Arrigo Sacchi could hardly be said to be one of sport's great communicators. He relies upon the fact that silence can paint its own picture.

Indeed, many of those Italians who will pour into Anfield this evening still await a definitive answer to the question that has tumbled from Latin lips since Sacchi omitted Roberto Baggio, Gianluca Vialli and Giuseppe Signori from his 23-man squad.

Channel 4's coverage of Serie A has elevated to prominence a host of shaggy-haired, unshaven players, yet those three names appear to have been forgotten in the British consciousness.

"Those seem to be the only Italian players you English have heard of," said a Milanese journalist yesterday. "Understandably, Sacchi is fed up with having to point out that Baggio and Vialli are sliding towards retirement and Signori is... well... considered not good enough."

"What is done is done," said Sacchi yesterday. "I feel very close to Vialli in particular. We have a long-standing friendship and I am very sympathetic towards him. Sacchi's pedigree is such that it is difficult to criticise his selection policies. Never a man to do the expected, he announced yesterday that the Republic of Ireland would not start today either.

The grey-haired one is to be held in reserve until Friday's meeting with the Czech Republic at the same venue, so allowing Gianfranco Zola of Parma and Pierluigi Casiraghi of Lazio to do their job. "Ravanelli needs to be patient," said Sacchi.

Predictably, the manager is an admirer of German football. "I thought the Germans were extraordinary against the Czechs," he said. "Every team has limitations but Germany has fewer than others. It is vitally important that we open with a win," he added. "The start is always uncertain. Teams tend to find the first game the most difficult of all."

Russia are comfortable with the suggestion that while their make life difficult for Italy, and Germany may not be quite good enough to move into the tournament's latter stages. Their dismal performances in the 1994 World Cup finals were best ignored for several players of note - including Everton's Andrei Kanchelskis - refused to take part.

Cricket Benson & Hedges Cup Semi Finals

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Sport

Cricket

Uefa on referees stay tournament... Key talk... lucky fight... Various small text snippets and advertisements on the right edge of the page.



# Sports Guardian

## EURO 96

Group A: Holland 0, Scotland 0

# Scots take Dutch courage

Goram and referee deny Holland an opening win

David Lacey at Villa Park

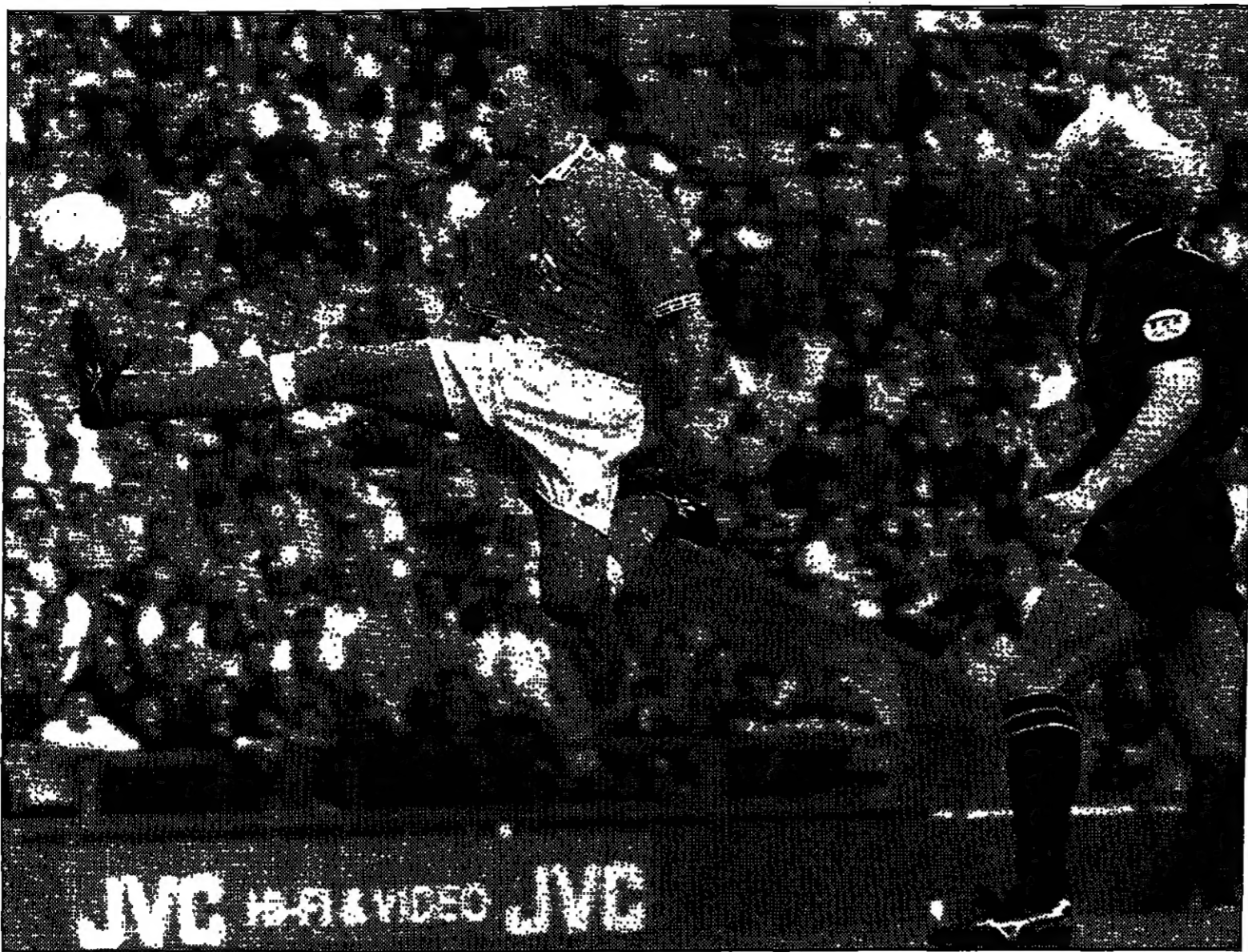
SCOTLAND, inspired initially by Goram, kept their nerve at Villa Park yesterday to face down an oddity disparate Dutch side, leaving England to ponder still further the significance of reviving the oldest international fixture at Wembley on Saturday.

In forcing a goalless draw with Holland, the Scots have earned themselves a stake in the contest. They have met supposedly one of the best sides the European Championship has to offer and survived. That must be good for morale, and a point is obviously good for business.

All four teams in Group A now have one apiece, with England and Switzerland holding a slight advantage with their scoring draw. Yesterday Scotland looked capable of holding or even beating the Swiss, though for the rest of the week their thoughts will be fully occupied with the England match.

A similar approach if not a similar formation on Saturday would demand from Terry Venables's team reserves of strength and stamina conspicuously absent against Switzerland. Yesterday Scotland were strongest precisely in those areas where, two days earlier, England had faded.

Collins gave a masterful display in midfield. Of all the Scots he had the ability to create time and space to use the ball intelligently, which he did for 90 minutes. McAllister, whose natural role this would normally be, was more



Arsenal out of ammunition... Dennis Bergkamp stretches for the ball under the watchful eye of Scotland's Colin Hendry. PHOTOGRAPH: SANTIAGO LYON

of a supporting figure, while McCall's industry ensured that, for all his skill, Davids did not become the

game's dominating force. If anyone dominated for the Dutch it was Ronald de Boer, who despite fitness worries

had a marvellous match before giving way to Winter for the last 22 minutes. Yet the familiar fluency was seen

only in spells, primarily at the start and finish of the match when only Scottish bodies were denying Holland a goal.

Kluivert, who has played only 75 minutes in eight weeks, started the game on the bench and eventually replaced the fitful Taument just past the hour. This enabled Bergkamp, who is never happy when thrust up front on his own, to drift deep and wide but Kluivert still looked below par.

Holland were also without the suspended Blind, who will return against Switzerland on Thursday, and they missed his capacity for breaking forward to make sudden appearances on the edge of the penalty area. At times their football flowed in the old manner but Scotland's defence stood firm around Hendry and Calder-

wood until legs tired in the closing minutes. For 10 minutes or so at the start form and superior technique ruled. Scotland simply could not get the ball. The Dutch drums in the stands beat out a triumphant tattoo, their trumpets were as bold as brass. By half-time, however, the band had been reduced to a series of brief snorts punctuated by long periods of silence.

Scotland's resistance began, almost inevitably, with Goram, who on six minutes kept out a close-range shot from Seedorf. Then Collins cleared a shot from Witschge off the line, amid Dutch claims for hand-ball that were supported by TV but not the Swedish referee. But by the time Goram made his next urgent save, Turn to page 14

# Lionhearts lost in the shadows



Richard Williams

SO WHAT do you think happened after Saturday's match, when the jubilant Swiss fans finally abandoned Wembley's West Stand to the cleaners and Stuart Pearce had explained for the last time that there was absolutely no karmic connection between the penalty he had missed for England in Turin six years ago and the one he had given away that afternoon?

Here's what happened. Switzerland, whose supporters had treated their 1-1 draw with the hosts as tantamount to a glorious victory, were told to report for training on Sunday morning. And England, to whom the draw represented a devastating blow, were given two days off to spend with their families. This one you truly couldn't make up.

Ever since England's failure to qualify for the 1994 World Cup, and particularly since our clubs were annihilated in Europe last winter, a lot of thought has been expended on the many possible causes of the nation's failure to keep pace with the rest of the continent.

We play too many matches. We only train in the mornings. We don't control the players' diets. We let them drink beer on Friday nights. All true, yet somehow not enough to explain such a vast and general falling-away.

And definitely not the reason behind Saturday's astonishing display. Here, in a single piece of anecdotal evidence, was as clear an illustration as we may ever get of England's problem.

For all the jibes about in-flight refuelling, the problem is not irresponsibility. The players may behave stupidly sometimes, but it would be wrong to accuse them of lacking a seriousness of intent. Paul Gascoigne and his teammates want success in this tournament as badly as any German or Italian. But their manner of going about the task shows a lack of self-knowledge which is genuinely pathetic.

On Saturday the way the players ran out of puff led the coach to say that he could have taken off any one of eight players "because we all looked very, very tired", an

astounding admission in the light of the facilities offered to him during the two-year period of preparation.

Why were they tired? It's true that our players don't train very rigorously or scientifically, and many of them certainly drink more alcohol than the average Serie A performer, but in normal circumstances they can be relied upon to last the full 90 minutes of a moderately paced game such as this one. The problem goes beyond simple explanations, which is why a 48-hour break will have made no difference.

It seemed to me that the England players were tired not in their limbs but in their minds, and that this mental exhaustion has its roots in a deep-rooted uncertainty about who, exactly, they are supposed to be.

Paul Ince may have blundered close to the truth on the morning after the game, when he told a TV interviewer that "too much nervous energy" was to blame.

"There's no such thing as nervous energy," Jack Charlton retorted from his seat in the studio. But there is, and more than one kind at that. England's variety was fuelled not by adrenalin but by a debilitating uncertainty.

WE have seen it time and again. An England team to be the field with a built-in identity crisis. On the one hand they know that we invented the game, we won the World Cup 30 years ago, and we've got the best league in the world. On the other, a great deal of empirical evidence suggests that we are no longer good enough to justify such comfortable beliefs.

The best example came at the start of Graham Taylor's last match, when the team kicked off against San Marino in a mood of unrelenting serenity, clearly believing that the three lions on their chests lent them an inherent superiority which would see them through. Ten seconds later they were a goal down. That was not complacency; it was a delusion of grandeur. And it is still there.

Venables was right not to make the players spend the last 48 hours practising corner kicks. They should how to do that. Instead he knew how to have kept them together and drawn them into a discussion about what it means to play for England in 1996. If that is, he has a clear idea of it himself.

Between the idea and the reality / Between the motion and the act / Falls the Shadow. England are now so deep in that shadow that they cannot even recognise themselves.

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**History repeats itself, the first time as genocide, the second as synchronised swimming. It was surprising to hear that the French women's synchronised swimming team were performing a routine based on the arrival of women at the Nazi death camps and their selection by Nazi doctors for the gas chambers.**

Sebastian Faulks

G2 page 2

## Guardian Crossword No 20,676

Set by Orlando

- Across**
- Fly-fish on returning to river (6)
  - Second mate at the wheel? (2-6)
  - Exercise preliminary to heat? (4-2)
  - Sign name to authorise imports (8)
  - Double gin returned to the bar (11)
  - Carpets woven in various colour ranges (7)
  - Using this grip, soundly sank every putt (7)
  - One primate's a variety of ape (11)
  - Draught prescribed by family doctor (8)
  - Said to raise a smile (6)
  - Sub finds place in new-look English side (8)
  - Foreign girl's work permit returned separately (6)
- Down**
- Stripper and officer engaging in sin (6)
  - Switch off heater right by the generator (10)
  - Parental training given during pregnancy (8)
  - County players in blue (8)
  - Drinker, when a driver, took nothing (8)
  - Opening race has no starter (4)
  - Plant producing fine sprays (4)
  - Judge again to receive due commendation (10)
  - Cheeky monkey to be rejected for male (8)
  - A Tory clogger? Certainly a bloomer! (6)
  - From River's banks, fish with spears (8)
  - Rest in peace, dear. (She shot herself.) (6)

**CROSSWORD SOLUTION 20,676**

The solution to 5 down in crossword No. 20,673 was "TARTISH", not "TARNISH" as printed on Saturday.

20 Fish acceptable to Daniel's companion, bearing char perhaps (4)

21 Have a swig, if you can turn the stopper (4)

**Solution tomorrow**

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inside

2